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A  
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE  
OF THE  
E U R O P E A N S  
IN THE  
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

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# C O N T E N T S

OF THE

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## PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADEOF THE  
EUROPEANS  
IN THE  
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

## BOOK X.

*Settlement of the European nations in the great  
Archipelago of America.*

**H**ITHERTO we have been only proceed-  
ing from one scene of horror to another;  
in following the steps of the Spaniards and of the  
Portuguese. Let us now see whether the Eng-  
lish, French, Hollanders, and Danes, whom we  
are going to accompany into the islands, have  
shewn themselves less savage than those who took  
possession of the continent. Will the inhabitants  
of these limited spaces be exposed to the deplo-  
rable destiny of the Peruvians, of the Mexicans,

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X.

Considera-  
tions upon  
the conduct  
of all the  
European  
nations in  
the New  
World.



and of the Brazilians? Is it possible that civilized men, who have all lived in their country under forms of government, if not wise, at least antient; who have all been bred up in places where they were instructed with the lessons, and, sometimes, with the example of virtue; who were all brought up in the midst of polished cities, in which a rigid exercise of justice must have accustomed them to respect their fellow-creatures; is it possible that all such men, without exception, should pursue a line of conduct equally contrary to the principles of humanity, to their interest, to their safety, and to the first dawning of reason; and that they should continue to become more barbarous than the savage? Shall I, for ever, be reduced to the necessity of presenting none but horrid images? Good God! For what an office was I destined? This change of character, in the European who quits his country, is a phenomenon of so extraordinary a nature, the imagination is so deeply affected with it, that while it attends to it with astonishment, reflection tortures itself in endeavouring to find out the principle of it, whether it exist in human nature in general, or in the peculiar character of the navigators, or in the circumstances preceding or posterior to the event.

It is a question which naturally occurs, Whether a man who is freed, by whatsoever cause, from the restraint of the laws, be not more wicked than the man who hath never felt this restraint? Persons who are sufficiently dissatisfied with their lot, sufficiently deprived of resources in their own country, sufficiently poor, or sufficiently ambi-

tious to entertain a contempt for life, and to expose themselves to infinite dangers and labours, upon the precarious hope of making a rapid fortune; do they not carry about with them the fatal seeds of a spirit of depredation, which must unavoidably have manifested itself with inconceivable rapidity and violence, when they came into another climate, far from the effects of public resentment, and when they were no longer awed by the presence of their fellow citizens, or restrained by shame or fear? Doth not the history of all societies prove to us, that those men on whom nature hath bestowed an extraordinary degree of energy, are most commonly villains? The danger of a long stay, and the necessity of a speedy return, added to the desire of justifying the expences incurred in the enterprize, by a display of the riches of the lately discovered countries, must necessarily have occasioned and accelerated the violent steps taken to acquire the possession of them. Did not the chiefs of the enterprize, and their companions, terrified by the dangers they had undergone, by those which they were still to undergo, and by the miseries they had suffered, did they not determine to make themselves amends for their sufferings, like men who were resolved not to expose themselves to them a second time? Did the idea of forming a colony in those distant regions, and of increasing the dominions of their sovereign with them, ever present itself distinctly to the minds of these first adventurers; and did not the New World rather appear to them, as a rich prey that was to be devoured, than as a conquest which they ought

## HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

BOOK

to protect? Was not the mischief begun by these atrocious motives, perpetuated, sometimes by the indifference of ministers, and sometimes by the divisions between the European nations; and was it not arrived to the utmost pitch, when times of tranquillity inspired our governments with more rational principles? Had the first deputies, to whom the authority and inspection of those countries had been intrusted; or could they have the knowledge, and the virtue requisite to make themselves beloved by the natives, to conciliate their respect and confidence, and to establish a system of police and laws among them? Did they not, on the contrary, carry along with them, to those distant regions, the same thirst of gold which had laid them waste? Could it be expected, that at the origin of these settlements a plan of administration could be formed, which the experience of several centuries hath not been capable of establishing? Is it possible, even in our days, to rule nations which are separated by immense seas from the mother-country, in the same manner as subjects who are situated immediately under the eye of the sovereign? Since distant posts are never solicited and filled, unless by indigent, rapacious men, without talents or morals, strangers to all sentiment of honour, and to every idea of equity, the refuse of the higher ranks of the state, must we not consider the splendour of the colonies, in after times, as a chimerical notion; and will not the future happiness of these regions be a phenomenon still more surprising, than their first devastation was.



ACCURSED, therefore, be the moment of their discovery! And you, European sovereigns, what motive can excite your jealous ambition for possessions, the misery of which you can only perpetuate? And why do ye not restore them to themselves, if ye despair of making them happy? I have, more than once, ventured, in the course of this work, to point out to you the means of accomplishing this: but, I am much afraid, that my voice hath only exclaimed, and will only exclaim in the desert.

AMERICA contains, between the eighth and the thirty-second degree of northern latitude, the most numerous, extensive, and rich Archipelago the ocean hath yet displayed to the curiosity, the industry, and avidity of the Europeans. The islands that compose it are known, since the discovery of the New World, by the name of the Caribbees. Those that lie nearest the East, have been called the Windward Islands; the others, the Leeward, on account of the wind's blowing generally from the eastern point in those quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which seems to be attached to the continent near the gulph of Maracaybo; the other, to close the entrance of the gulph of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with some degree of reason, be considered as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, and which have been changed into islands, by some revolution that hath laid all the flat country under water.

ALL the islands of the world seem to have been detached from the continent by subterraneous fires, or earthquakes.



## BOOK

Is it probable that the American islands have been detached from the neighbouring continent?

THE celebrated Atlantica, the very name of which hath been buried in oblivion some thousand years ago, was a large tract of land situated between Africa and America. Several circumstances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France; and Sicily hath evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verd Islands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries, must have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been destroyed. The late observations of English navigators leave us scarce any room to doubt, that all the islands of the South Sea formerly composed one entire continent. New Zealand, the largest of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguished volcanos. It's inhabitants are neither beardless nor copper-colored, as those of America; and though they be separated six hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they speak the same language as the natives of the island of Otaheite, discovered a few years ago.

INDISPUTABLE monuments evince that such changes have happened, of which the attentive naturalist every where perceives some traces still remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oysters, sea-fish, entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the most distant from the sea, in the bowels, and on the surfaces of mountains; the variableness of the continent, subject to all the changes of the ocean, by which it is constantly beaten, worn away, or subverted: while at a distance, peraps,

on one side it loses immense tracts of land; on the other discovers to us new countries, and long banks of sand heaped up before those cities that formerly were celebrated sea-ports: the horizontal and parallel position of the strata of the earth, and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the same order, composed of the same materials, that are regularly cemented by the constant and successive exertion of the same cause: the correspondent similarity observable between such coasts as are separated by an arm of the sea; on one side of which may be perceived salient angles opposite to re-entering angles on the other; on the right-hand, beds of the same kind of sand, or similar petrifications, disposed on a level with similar strata, extending to the left: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the sea as to their common origin: the formation of hills and vallies, on which this immense body of fluid hath, as it were, stamped indelible marks of it's undulations; all these several circumstances attest, that the ocean hath broken it's natural limits, or, perhaps, that it's limits have never been insurmountable; and that varying the surface of the globe, according to the irregularity of it's own motions, it hath alternately taken the earth from it's inhabitants, and restored it to them again. Hence those successive, though never universal, deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it totally invisible to us at once; for the waters, acting at the same time in the cavities and on the surface of the globe, cannot possibly in-

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B O O K  
X.

crease the depth of their beds, without diminishing their breadth; or overflow on one side, without leaving dry land on the other; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole system that can possibly have made all the mountains disappear at once, and occasioned the sea to rise above their summits. What a sudden transformation must have forced all the rocks and every solid particle of matter to the center of the earth, to draw out of it's inmost recesses and channels all those fluids which animate it; and thus blending it's several elements together, produce a mass of waters and useless germina floating in the air? Is it not enough that each hemisphere, alternately, becomes a prey to the devastations of the ocean? Such constant shocks as these, have doubtless so long concealed from us the New World, and, perhaps, swallowed up that continent, which, as it is imagined, had been only separated from our own.

WHATEVER may be the secret causes of these particular revolutions, the general cause of which results from the know'n and universal laws of motion, their effects, however, will be always sensible to every man, who hath the resolution and sagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly evident in regard to the Caribbee Islands, if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent shocks whenever the volcanos of the Cordeleras throw out their contents, or when all Peru is shaken. This Archipelago, as well as that of the East Indies, situated nearly in the same degree of latitude, seems to be produced by the same cause;

cause; namely, the motion of the sea from East to West: a motion impressed by that which causes the earth's revolution from West to East, more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle, and in a more agitated zone; where the ocean seems, as it were, willing to break through all the boundaries nature opposes to it, and, opening to itself a free and uninterrupted course, forms the equinoctial line.

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X.

THE direction of the Caribbee Islands, beginning from Tobago, is nearly North and N. N. W. This direction is continued from one island to another, forming a line somewhat curved towards the North-west, and ending at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and extending itself in a straight direction to the W. and N. W. meets in its course with Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, known by the name of the Leeward Islands, which are separated from each other by channels of various breadths. Some of these are six, others fifteen or twenty leagues broad; but the soundings, in all of them, are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Grenada and St. Vincent's there is also a small Archipelago of thirty leagues, in which, sometimes, the soundings are not ten fathom.

THE mountains in the Caribbee Islands run in the same direction as the islands themselves. This direction is so regular, that if we were to consider the tops of these mountains only, independent of their bases, they might be looked upon as a chain of



of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the most north-westerly promontory.

THE springs of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward Islands, run all in the western part of these islands. The whole eastern coast, that which, according to our conjectures, hath always been covered by the sea, is without any running water. No springs come down there from the mountains; they would, indeed, have been useless, for, after having run over a very short tract of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the sea.

IN Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are a few rivers which discharge themselves into the sea on the northern side, and the sources of which rise in the mountains, running from east to west, that is, through the whole length of these islands. These rivers water a considerable extent of low country, which hath certainly never been covered by the sea. From the other side of the mountains facing the south, where the sea, flowing with great impetuosity, leaves behind it marks of it's inundations, several rivers flow into these three islands, some of which are considerable enough to receive the largest ships.

THESE observations, which seem to prove that the sea hath separated the Caribbee Islands from the continent, are further confirmed by others of a different kind, though equally conclusive in support of this conjecture. Tobago, Margaretta, and Trinidad, islands that are the nearest to the continent, produce, as well as the Caribbees, trees  
the

the wood of which is soft, and wild cocoa. This particular species is not to be found, at least in any quantity, in the northern islands. In these the only wood we meet with is hard. Cuba, situated at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds, like Florida, from which, perhaps, it hath been separated, with cedars and cypresses, both equally useful for the building of ships.

THE soil of the Caribbees consists mostly of a layer of clay or gravel, of different thickness; under which is a bed of stone or rock. The nature of some of these soils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In those places where the clay is drier and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed of greater depth, than where the clay is moister. The sand or gravel has different properties according to it's peculiar nature; wherever it is less hard, less compact, and less porous, small pieces separate themselves from it; which, though dry, preserve a certain degree of coolness useful to vegetation. This soil is called in America, a pumice-stone soil. Wherever the clay and gravel do not go through such modifications, the soil becomes barren, as soon as the layer, formed by the decomposition of the original plants, is destroyed, from the necessity there is of weeding it, which too frequently exposes it's salts to the heat of the sun. Hence, in those cultures which require less weeding, and where the plant covers with it's leaves the vegetable salts, there the fertility of the ground hath been preserved.

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X.

Nature of  
the soil of  
the Carib-  
bee Islands.  
Vegetables  
found there  
before the  
invasion.

WHEN

BOOK  
X.

WHEN the Europeans landed at the Caribbee Islands, they found them covered with large trees, connected, as it were, to one another by a species of creeping plant; which, rising up in the same manner as the ivy, wove itself around all the branches, and concealed them from the sight. There was so great a plenty of this plant, and it grew so thick, that it was impossible to penetrate into the woods before it was cut down. From its great degree of flexibility it was called *Liane*. In these forests, as old as the world itself, there were varieties of trees, which, from a singular partiality of nature, were very lofty, exceeding straight, and without any excrescences or defects. The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves, and the decay of the trunks rotted away by time, formed a moist sediment upon the ground; which being cleared, occasioned a surprising degree of vegetation in those plants that were substituted to the trees that were rooted up.

In whatever soil these trees grew, their roots were scarcely two feet deep, and generally much less: though they extended themselves on the surface, in proportion to the weight they had to support. The excessive dryness of the ground, where the most plentiful rains never penetrate very deep, as they are soon attracted by the sun-beams, and the constant dews that moisten the surface, made the roots of these plants extend themselves horizontally, instead of descending perpendicularly, as they generally do in other climates.

THE

THE trees that grew on the tops of mountains and in steep places were very hard. The sharpest cutting instrument could scarcely make any impression upon them. Such were the agouti, the palm-tree, and the barata wood, which have since been usefully employed in building. Such were the courbari, the acajou, the manchineel, and the iron-wood, which have been found fit for joiner's work. Such is the acoma, which being either put into the ground, or exposed to the air, is preserved for a long time without being attacked by the worms, or rotted by the damp. Such the maple, the trunk of which, being four or five feet in diameter, and the stem from forty to fifty feet high, served to make a canoe of one single piece.

THE vallies, which are rendered fertile by the mountains, are covered with soft wood. At the foot of these trees, grew promiscuously those plants that the liberality of the soil produced for the subsistence of the natives of the country. Those in most general use were the yam, the Caribbee cabbage, and the battata, the roots of which being tuberose, like those of the potatoe, might equally afford a wholesome nourishment. Nature, which appears to have established a certain analogy between the characters of people and the provisions intended for their support, had provided the Caribbee Islands with such vegetables as could not bear the heat of the sun, flourished best in moist places, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The islanders did not thwart the free and spontaneous operations



rations of nature, by destroying one of her productions, to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating salts was entirely left to the mere effect of the soil; nor did the natives pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered, as chance threw in their way, or the season pointed out, such fruits as spontaneously offered themselves for their support. They had observed, that the putrefaction of the weeds was necessary to the reproduction of those plants that were most useful to them.

THE roots of these plants were never unwholesome; but they were insipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unless they were seasoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant somewhat resembling our sorrel, they produced a strong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the savages. The only art they made use of in preparing it, was suffering it to ferment some days in common water, exposed to the heat of the sun.

EXCLUSIVE of this nourishment, the islands also supplied the inhabitants with a great variety of fruits, but very different from our's. The most useful among these was the banana. The root of the banana tree is tuberosé and hairy. It's stem, which is slender and soft, grows to seven feet at it's utmost height, and is eight inches in diameter: it is composed of several coats, or concentric sheaths, tolerably thick, and each of them terminated by a firm petiole, hollowed in form of a gutter, and which supports a leaf of six feet

feet long, and two feet wide. These leaves, collected in a small number at the bottom of the stem, bend by their own weight, and dry up one after the other. They are thin, very smooth, green on the upper surface, of a paler colour on the under, and furnished with parallel fibres, which are very close to each other, are joined at the costa, and give the leaf a satiny appearance. At the end of nine months, the banana tree pushes out from the midst of it's leaves, when they are all unfolded, a sprig of three or four feet long, and two feet in diameter, furnished at intervals with semicircular bands, which each of them supports, a closter of a dozen or more flowers, covered with a spatha, or membranous inclosure. Each pistil is charged with a stile of six stamina and one calix, with two leaves, one external, lengthened out, and terminated by five indentations; the other internally shorter, and concave. This pistil, and one of the stamina, are abortive in the flowers at the extremity, the clusters of which are small, close, and concealed under coloured and permanent inclosures. In the other flowers, five of the stamina are found abortive; but the pistil becomes a fleshy fruit, elongated, slightly arched, covered with a yellow and thick pellicle, and filled with a pulpy, yellowish substance, of a sweetish taste, and very nourishing. The assemblage of these fruits, to the number of fifty, and upwards, upon the same stem, is called a *regime* of bananas; which is as much as a man can carry. While it is upon the stem, it's weight makes it bend towards

BOOK

X.

towards the ground. As soon as it is gathered, this stem dries up, and is succeeded by fresh sprigs, which come out of the root, and flower nine months after, or later, when they are transplanted. There is no other way of multiplying the banana tree, which never yields any seed.

THIS plant exhibits a number of varieties, which consist only in the form, the size, and the goodness of the fruit. It is agreeable to the taste, and is eaten raw, or prepared in several ways.

ONE singular circumstance worthy of remark is, that while the voracious plant, which we have termed Liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it avoided the fertile ones, though promiscuously blended with the former. Nature seemed, as it were, to have prescribed to it, to respect what she had destined for the sustenance of man.

THE islanders were not so plentifully supplied with pot-herbs as with roots and fruits. Purslain and cresses were the only herbs of this kind they had.

THEIR other food was confined within a very narrow compass: they had no tame fowl, and the only quadrupeds that were fit for food, did not amount to more than five sorts; the largest of which did not exceed in size our common rabbits. The birds, more pleasing to the eye, though less varied than in our climates, were valuable almost only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth those melting notes that are so captivating to the ear; most of them were extremely thin, and very insipid to the taste. Fish was nearly



nearly as plentiful as in other seas; but generally less wholesome, and less delicate.

The virtues of the plants that nature had placed in these islands, to cure the very few disorders the inhabitants were subject to, can scarce be exaggerated. Whether they were applied externally, or taken internally, or the juice of them given in infusion, their effects were as speedy as salutary. The invaders of those formerly peaceable regions have employed these simples, which are always green and in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Asia can furnish to the rest of the world.

The generality of the inhabitants of these islands consider but two seasons among them, that of drought and that of rain. Nature, whose operations are constant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to them to act always uniformly. But those who attentively observe her progress, discern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions, and the changes of vegetation, she observes the same laws as in Europe, though in a less sensible manner.

These almost imperceptible changes, are no preservative against the dangers and inconveniences of such a scorching climate as must be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As these islands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are exposed, allowing for the varieties resulting from difference of situation and of soil, to a perpetual heat, which generally increases from the rising of the sun till an hour after noon, and then decreases in proportion as the sun declines.

Is the climate of these islands agreeable and wholesome?



B O O K  
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A covered sky, that might serve to alleviate this heat, is seldom seen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two, but the sun is never hid for four days during the whole year.

THE variations in the temperature of the air, depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of the seasons. In those places where the wind doth not blow, the air is excessively hot; and none but the easterly winds contribute to temperate and refresh it; those that blow from the south and west afford little relief, but they are much less frequent and less regular than that which comes from the east. The branches of the trees exposed to it's influence, are forced round towards the west, in that direction which they seemed to be throw'n into, by the constant and uniform course of the wind. But their roots are stronger and more extended under ground towards the east, in order to afford them, as it were, a fixed point, the resistance of which may counteract the power of the ruling wind. Accordingly, it hath been observed, that whenever the westerly wind blows with any violence, the trees are easily throw'n down; in order therefore to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be considered.

THE easterly wind depends upon two invariable causes, the probability of which is very striking. The first arises from the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east, and which must necessarily be more rapid under the equinoctial than under the parallels of latitude, because a greater space must be passed over in the same time. The

second

second is owen to the heat of the sun, which, as soon as it rises above the horizon, rarefies the air, and causes it to blow towards the west, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the east. BOOK  
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THE easterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbee Islands is scarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock in the morning, increases in proportion as the sun rises above the horizon; and decreases as it declines. Towards the evening it ceases entirely to blow on the coasts, but not on the open sea. The reasons of this difference are very evident. After the setting of the sun, the air from the land, that continues for a considerable time rarefied, on account of the vapours which are constantly rising from the heated globe, necessarily flows back upon the air of the sea: this is what is generally called a land breeze. It is most sensibly felt in the night, and continues till the air of the sea, rarefied by the heat of the sun, flows back again towards the land, where the air hath been condensed by the coolness of the night. It hath also been observed, that the easterly wind blows more regularly and with greater force in the dog-days, than at any other times of the year; because the sun then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus nature causes the excessive heat of the sun to contribute to the refreshment of those climates that are parched up by it's rays. It is thus, that in fire-engines art makes the fire instrumental in supplying constantly with fresh water the copper vessels from which it is exhausted by evaporation.

THE rain contributes also to the temperature of the American islands, though not equally in

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them all. In those places where the easterly wind meets with nothing to oppose it's progress, it dispels the clouds as they begin to rise, and compels them to break, either in the woods or upon the mountains. But whenever the storms are too violent, or the blowing of the easterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the southern and westerly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee Islands, where this wind doth not generally blow, the rains are so frequent and plentiful, especially in the winter season, which lasts from the middle of July to the middle of October; that, according to the most accurate observations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the space of a year. Instead of those mild and refreshing showers which we sometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in these climates are torrents, the sound of which might be mistaken for that of hail, if this were not almost unknown under so burning a sky.

THESE showers, it must be allowed, refresh the air; but they occasion a dampness, the effects of which are no less disagreeable than fatal. The dead must be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep sweet above four and twenty hours. The fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread must be made up into biscuits, to prevent it's growing mouldy. Common wines soon turn sour: and iron grows rusty in a day's time. The seeds can only be preserved by constant attention and care, till the proper season returns for sowing them.



them. When the Caribbee Islands were first discovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the support of those who could not accustom themselves to the food of the natives of the country, was so soon damaged, that it became necessary to send it in the ears. This necessary precaution enhanced the price of it so much, that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then substituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of transport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was sooner damaged. It was imagined by a merchant, that if the flour were entirely separated from the bran, which contributes to its fermentation, it would have the double advantage of cheapness and of keeping longer. He caused it therefore to be sifted, and put the finest flour into strong casks, and beat it close together with iron hammers, till it became so hard a body, that the air could scarce penetrate it. Experience justified so sensible a contrivance; the practice of it hath become general, and been considerably improved ever since.

It was thought that nothing more remained to be done, when M. du Hamel proposed another precaution, that of drying the flour in stoves, before it was embarked. This idea attracted the attention of the French ministry. Flour prepared in the new way, and some according to the former mode, was sent to the other hemisphere. Upon their return, the first had lost nothing, and the last was half rotten and deprived of its glutinous property. The same result hath attended all the experiments. It is pleasing

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to hope, that a discovery so useful will not be lost, for the nations that have formed settlements to the south of America. If it doth not secure to the provisions, the same degree of duration that they have in our dry and temperate climates, they will not at least be corrupted so soon, and will be preserved for a longer time.

Ordinary  
phenomenon  
in the  
islands.

HOWEVER troublesome these natural effects of the rain may be, it is attended with some still more formidable; such as frequent and sometimes dreadful earthquakes in the islands. As they generally happen during the time, or towards the end of the rainy season, and when the tides are highest, some ingenious naturalists have, therefore, supposed that they might be owen to these two causes.

THE waters of the sky and of the sea, undermine, dig up, and ravage the earth in several ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts it's fury upon this globe with a violence that can neither be foreseen nor prevented. Among the various shocks to which it is constantly exposed, from this restless and boisterous element, there is one, which at the Caribbee islands is distinguished by the name of *raz de marée*, or whirlpool. It constantly happens once, twice, or three times, from July to October, and always on the western coasts; because it takes place after the time of the westerly and southerly winds, or while they blow. The waves, which at a distance seem to advance gently within four or five hundred yards, suddenly swell against the shore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by some superior force, and break with the greatest impetuosity,

impetuosity. The ships, which are then upon the coast, or in the roads beyond it, unable either to put to sea, or keep their anchors, are dashed to pieces against the land, leaving the unhappy sailors entirely without hopes of escaping that certain death, the approaches of which they have been expecting for several hours.

So extraordinary a motion of the sea hath been hitherto considered as the consequence of a storm. But a storm follows the direction of the wind, from one point of the compass to another; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an island that is sheltered by another island, where the shock is not at all perceived. This observation hath induced Mr. Dutasta, who has travelled through Africa, and America, as a natural philosopher, a merchant, and a statesman, to seek for a more probable cause of this singular phenomenon. He hath not only discovered this, but also several other truths that may be useful to many of the sciences, if he should ever make them public. We shall then, probably, acquire more certain information concerning hurricanes.

THE hurricane is a violent wind generally accompanied with rain, lightning and thunder, sometimes with earthquakes, and always attended with the most melancholy and fatal consequences that the wind can produce. The day which, in the torrid zone, is usually bright and clear, is suddenly changed into a dark and universal night, the appearance of a perpetual spring, into the dreariness and horror of the most gloomy winter. Trees, as ancient as the world itself, are tor'n up by the roots,

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roofs, and instantly disappear. The strongest and the most solid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itself with the prospect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be seen but plantations entirely destroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy sufferers, deprived of their whole support, weep over the carcases of the dead, or search among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noise of the waters, of the woods, of the thunder, and of the winds, that break against the shattered rocks, the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiscuously involved in a whirlwind of sand, stones, and ruins of buildings: all together seem to portend the last struggles of expiring nature.

THESE hurricanes, however, contribute to produce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether these violent concussions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile; or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain substances fit to promote the vegetation of plants, is not easily determined: but it hath been observed, that this seeming and temporary confusion was not only a consequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even dissolution itself instrumental to regeneration, but also the means of preserving the general system, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, the source of partial evil and of general good.

THE first inhabitants of the Caribbee Islands imagined that they had discovered infallible prognostics of this alarming phenomenon. They observed,



served, that when it was near at hand, the air was misty, the sun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth, and in the reservoirs of water, a dull sound was heard, like that arising from pent up winds. The stars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The sky, in the north-west, was overspread with dark and black clouds, that seemed very alarming. The sea sent forth a strong and disagreeable smell, and, in the midst of a calm, was suddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from east to west, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

THOUGH the truth of all these observations cannot be ascertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas, and even prejudices of savage nations on times and seasons, would be a seeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philosophical inquiries. The want of employment of these people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity, and put them under a necessity, of observing the smallest alterations in the air, and of acquiring such informations on this point, as have escaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed, and more devoted to works of a sedentary nature. Possibly we must be indebted to the man who dwells in the forests for the discovery of effects, and to the searped man for the investigation of causes. Let us trace, if possible, the cause of hurricanes, a phaenomenon so frequent in America, that this alone would have been sufficient to



to make it be deserted, or render it uninhabitable many ages ago.

No hurricanes come from the east, that is, from the greatest extent of the sea at the Caribbee Islands. As this is an acknowledged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The west wind which blows constantly, and sometimes very violently in the southern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the same time in the northern parts, must, when they meet, oppose each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this shock happens in the long and narrow passes of the mountains, it must occasion a strong current of air, that will extend itself in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow pass of the mountain. Every solid body that meets this current of air, will be impressed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of surface it opposes to the current; so that if the position of that surface should be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impossible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole mass. Fortunately, the different bearings of the coast of these islands, and their angular or spherical figure, occasion these dreadful hurricanes to fall upon surfaces more or less oblique, which divert the current of air, break it's force, and gradually destroy it's effects. Experience also proves, that their action is by degrees so much weakened, that even in the direction, where the hurricane falls with most force, it is scarce felt at ten leagues distance.

tance. The most accurate observers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have successively subverted the islands, came from the north-west, and consequently from the narrow passes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The distance of some islands from this direction, is not a sufficient reason for rejecting this opinion; as several causes may contribute to divert a current of air to the south or east. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that those persons have been in an error, who have asserted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compass the wind came from. Such are the destructive phænomena Nature hath opposed to the acquisition of the riches of the New World: but what barrier could restrain the daring spirit of the navigator who discovered it?

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS having first formed a settlement at St. Domingo, one of the Greater Antilles, discovered the Lefs. The islanders he had to encounter there, were not so weak and cowardly as those he had at first subdued. The Caribs, who thought they originally came from Guiana, were of moderate stature, thick set and strong, and such as seemed adapted to form men of superior strength, if their manner of life and exercises had seconded these natural appearances. Their legs thick and muscular, were generally well made; their eyes black, large, and somewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleasing, had they not spoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable among themselves. The eye-brows and the head

Customs of  
the Caribs,  
the antient  
inhabitants  
of the  
Windward  
Islands.

were

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were the only parts of the body on which they suffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chastity. In order to guard against the bite of insects, they painted all their bodies over with the juice of the racou, or ariotto, which gave them the appearance of a boiled lobster.

THEIR religion consisted only in some confused belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion so natural to man, that we find it diffused among the most savage nations, and preserved even among many civilized people. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greatest dread of the evil principle. Their other superstitions were more absurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not contribute to render them more ready to embrace Christianity when it was proposed to them. Without entering into dispute with those who expounded the doctrines, they contented themselves with rejecting the belief of them, for fear, as they said, *that their neighbours should laugh at them.*

THOUGH the Caribs had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquillity they enjoyed, was entirely owen to that innate principle of compassion which precedes all reflection, and is the source of all social virtues. This humane spirit of benevolence arises from the very frame and nature of man, whose self-love alone is sufficient to make him abhor the sufferings of his fellow-creatures. To infuse, therefore, a spirit of humanity



humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be necessary to make them the executioners of those victims they sacrifice to their pride, and of those cruelties they order to be practised upon others. The hands of those voluptuaries should be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their seraglios; they should be forced to attend the field of battle; they should there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witnesses of the agonies and convulsions of their dying soldiers; they should next attend the hospitals, and at leisure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the diseases occasioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholesome, by cruel services and taxes, and by the other calamities which arise from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would scenes like these, occasionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to lessen the crimes and sufferings of the human race! What benefits would not the people derive, from the compassionate emotions of their sovereigns?

Among the Caribs, whose hearts were not depraved by the pernicious institutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treason, nor massacres, so common among civilized nations, were known. Religion, the laws, and penal punishments, those barriers raised to protect old customs from the incroachments of new ones, were useless to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never heard of among these savages, before the Europeans came among them. When they discovered any thing missing,



missing, they observed, *that the Christians had been with them.*

THESE islanders were little acquainted with the strongest passions of the soul, not even with that of love. This passion was with them merely a sensual appetite. They never shewed the least marks of attention or tenderness for that sex, so much courted in other countries. They considered their wives rather in the light of slaves than of companions; they did not even suffer them to eat with them, and had usurped the right of divorcing them, without granting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themselves born to obey, and submitted patiently to their fate.

IN other respects, a taste for power had little influence on the minds of the Caribs; as they had no distinction of ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality, and were extremely surprised to find degrees of subordination established among the Europeans. This system was so repugnant to their ideas, that they considered those as slaves, who had the weakness to receive the commands of a superior, and obey them. The subjection of the women among them, was a natural consequence of the weakness of the sex. But in what manner, and for what reason, the stronger men submitted themselves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem, that neither war, treachery, nor superstition, had been able to resolve.

THE manners of a people, neither influenced by interest, vanity, or ambition, must be very simple.

Every

Every family formed within itself a republic, distinct in some degree from the rest of the nation. They composed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or less consequence, in proportion to the space of ground it occupied. The chief, or patriarch of the family, lived in the center, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of such of his descendants as were married. The columns that supported these huts were stakes; the roofs were thatched; and the whole furniture consisted of some weapons, cotton beds made very plain and simple, some baskets, and utensils made of calabashes.

In these huts the Caribs spent the greatest part of their life, either in sleeping or smoking. When they went out, they retired into some corner, and sat upon the ground, seemingly absorbed in the most profound contemplation. Whenever they spoke, which was not very often, they were heard without interruption, or contradiction, and without any answer, but the sign of a tacit approbation.

They were not much troubled in providing for their sustenance. Savages, who spent their life in the condensed air of the forest, who had the custom of covering themselves with a layer of rocou, which closed up the pores of the skin; who spent their days in idleness and indolence; such savages must necessarily perspire very little, and be very moderate in their eating. Without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, they found constantly, at the foot of the trees, a wholesome food, fitted to their constitution; and which

which required no great preparation. If they sometimes added to these gifts of liberal and uncultivated nature, what they had taken in hunting and fishing, it was mostly upon occasion of some public feast.

THESE extraordinary festivals were not holden at any stated times. The guests themselves shewed no alteration in their usual characters. In these meetings they were not more gay or sprightly, than at other times. A spirit of indolence and listlessness appeared in their countenances. Their dances were so grave and solemn, that the motions of their bodies were expressive of the dulness of their minds. But these gloomy festivals, like those clouded skies that are the forerunners of a storm, were seldom concluded without bloodshed. These savages, who were so temperate when alone, grew drunk when assembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived those family dissensions, that were either only stifled, or not entirely extinguished: and thus these festivals terminated in massacres. Hatred and revenge, the only passions that could deeply agitate the minds of these savages, were thus perpetuated by convivial pleasures. In the height of these entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and swore that they would wage war upon the continent, and, sometimes, in the great islands.

THE Caribs used to embark upon boats, made of a single tree, that had been felled by burning it's roots. Whole years had been employed in hollowing these canoes, by hatchets made of stone;

stone, or by means of fire, skilfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the most proper form. These free and voluntary warriors being arrived on the coasts, to which they were led, sometimes by a blind caprice, and sometimes by violent hatred, went in quest of nations to exterminate. They made their attack with a kind of club, nearly as long as the arm, and with poisoned arrows. At their return from this military expedition, which was the more speedily brought to a conclusion, as mutual enmity rendered it more cruel and spirited, the savages fell again into their former state of indolence and inactivity.

THE Spaniards, notwithstanding the advantage of fire-arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always successful. At first they fought only for gold, and afterwards for slaves; but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribs being so proud and sullen that they died when reduced to slavery; the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conquests, which they thought of little consequence, and which they could neither acquire nor preserve without constant and bloody wars.

THE English and French being apprized of these transactions, ventured to equip a small fleet, in order to intercept the Spanish vessels which frequented these latitudes. The advantages gained, increased the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent these expeditions. The custom that prevailed among the Spaniards, of stopping all

The English and French settled in the Windward Islands, on the ruin of the Caribs.



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ships that sailed beyond the tropic, justified such piracies.

THE two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward Islands, without ever thinking of making any settlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehensive of irritating the Caribs, by whom they had been favourably received: or, perhaps, they considered that a soil, which afforded none of those productions that were of use in the Old World, was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, some English and French, the former headed by Warner, and the latter by Denambuc, landed at St. Christopher's on the same day, at two opposite parts of the island. The frequent losses they sustained, served to convince them both, that they certainly would never triumph over, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the common enemy, unless they had some fixed residence, ports, and a place of general rendezvous. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conquest, they amicably divided the coasts of the island where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the spot they were fixed upon, telling them at the same time, that *land must either be very bad or very scarce with them, since they were come from so great a distance, and had exposed themselves to so many dangers, to seek for it among them.*

THE court of Madrid were not so peaceably inclined. Frederic of Toledo, who was sent to Brazil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to  
attack

attack the Dutch, was ordered, in his passage, to destroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and industrious nations occasioned the greatest anxiety to the Spaniards. They were sensible that their colonies would be exposed to attacks, if any other people should come to settle in that part of America.

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THE French and English in vain united their weak powers against the common enemy: they were beaten, and those who were not either killed in the action, or not taken prisoners, fled for shelter, with the utmost precipitation, into the neighbouring islands. When the danger was over, they most of them returned to their former settlements. Spain, whose attention was engrossed by objects she considered as of greater importance, disturbed them no more; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealousies would occasion their destruction.

UNFORTUNATELY for the Caribs, the two nations, thus conquered, suspended their rivalry. The Caribs, already suspected of forming a conspiracy in St Christopher's, were either banished or destroyed. Their wives, their provisions, and even the lands they occupied, were seized upon. A spirit of anxiety, the consequence of usurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe that the other savage nations had entered into the conspiracy; and they were therefore attacked in their islands. In vain did those plain and inoffensive men, who had no inclination to contend for the possession

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of a land which they considered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations, in proportion as the Europeans advanced with their incroachments; they were still pursued with the same eagerness and obstinacy. As soon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms; and the spirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, must have sometimes contributed to render them cruel, though not unjust.

In earlier times, the English and the French considered the Caribs as their common enemy; but this kind of casual association was frequently interrupted. It implied not a lasting engagement, much less the becoming guarantee for their mutual possessions. The savages artfully contrived to be at peace, sometimes with one nation, and sometimes with the other; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time. This management would have been but of little service to these islanders, had not Europe, scarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whose excursions had as yet been of no use to her, and not sufficiently enlightened to penetrate into futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them into a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference shewn by the two mother-countries, determined their subjects of the New World, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, securing to each people those possessions the various events of war had procured them,  
and

and which, till then, had been totally unsettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offensive and defensive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this plan; to which their fears induced them to accede the very same year.

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By this treaty, which established tranquillity in this part of America, France obtained Guadalupe, Martinico, Granada, and some less considerable acquisitions. England was confirmed in the possession of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and several other islands of little value: St. Christopher's belonged to both nations. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's, where all the scattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6,000 men.

At this period, the English settlements had acquired, under a government, which, though not free from defects, was yet tolerable, some kind of form, and were in a flourishing state. On the contrary, the French colonies were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, reduced to despair, from the necessity they were under of submitting to the tyranny of exclusive privileges. These men, passionately attached to liberty, fled to the northern coast of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for several adventurers of their own country, since they had been driven out of St. Christopher's about thirty years before.

The French take possession of part of St. Domingo. Character of these adventurers.

THEY were called *Buccaneers*, because they imitated the custom of the savages, in drying the food they lived upon by smoke, in places called *Buccans*. As they had no wives nor children,



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they usually associated two in a company, to assist one another in family duties. In these societies property was common, and the last survivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown among them, though no precautions were taken against it; and what was wanting at home was freely borrowed from some of the neighbours, without any other restriction than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home; if not, of making them acquainted with it at their return. Cæsar found in Gaul the same custom, which bears the double character, both of a primitive state, in which every thing was in common, and of times posterior to that, in which the idea of private property was known and respected. Differences seldom arose, and when they did, were easily adjusted. If the parties, however, were obstinate, they decided the matter by fire-arms. If the ball entered at the back or the sides, it was considered as a mark of treachery, and the assassin was immediately put to death. The former laws of their country were disregarded, and by the usual sea baptism they had received in passing the tropic, they considered themselves exempted from all obligation to obey them. These adventurers had even quitted their family name to assume others, borrowed from terms of war, most of which have been transmitted to their posterity.

The dress of these barbarians consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers dirtier than the shirt, and made in the shape of a brewer's  
apron,

apron, a girdle made of leather, on which a very short sabre was hung, and some knives; a hat, without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and shoes, without stockings. Their ambition was satisfied, if they could but provide themselves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five-and-twenty or thirty dogs.

THE Buccaneers spent their life in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the island, since the Spaniards had brought them. The best parts of these animals, when seasoned with pimento and orange juice, were the most common food of their destroyers, who had forgotten the use of bread, and who had nothing but water to drink. The hides of these animals were conveyed to several ports, and bought by the navigators. They were carried thither by men who were called *engagés*, or bondsmen; a set of persons, who were used to sell themselves in Europe to serve as slaves in the colonies, during the term of three years. One of these miserable men, presuming to represent to his master, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden such a practice, when he had declared, *six days shalt thou labour, and on the seventh day shalt thou rest*; And I, replied the brutal Buccaneer, say to thee: *six days thou shalt kill bulls, and strip them of their skins, and on the seventh day thou shalt carry their hides to the sea-shore*. This command was followed by blows, which sometimes enforce obedience, sometimes disobedience, to the laws of God.

MEN of such a cast, habituated to constant exercises, and feeding every day on fresh meat, were little exposed to diseases. Their excursions were only suspended by a slight fever, which lasted one day, and was not felt the next. They must, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intense a heat, to enable them to support so hard and laborious a manner of life.

THE climate, indeed, was the only enemy the Buccaneers had reason to fear. The Spanish colony, at first so considerable, was reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother-country, it had even lost the remembrance of its former greatness. The few inhabitants that survived, lived in a state of indolence: their slaves had no other employment but to swing them in their hammocks. Confined to those wants only that are satisfied by nature, frugality prolonged their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in more temperate climates.

It is probable they would not have been roused from their indolence, had not the enterprising and active spirit of their enemies pursued them in proportion as they retreated. Exasperated at length, from having their tranquillity and ease continually disturbed, they invited from the continent, and from the neighbouring islands, some troops who fell upon the dispersed Buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked these barbarians in small parties in their excursions, or in the night-time, when retired into their huts, and many of them were massacred. These adventurers would most probably have

have been all destroyed, had they not formed themselves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an absolute necessity of separating in the day-time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was missing, it was supposed that he was either taken prisoner or killed, and the chase was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may easily conceive how much blood must have been shed by such ruffians, belonging to no country, and subject to no laws; hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and instinct; and excited to murder and massacres from being habituated to attack, and from the necessity of defending themselves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to destruction, without any distinction of sex or age. The Spaniards, at length despairing of being able to get the better of such savage and obstinate enemies, took the resolution of destroying all the bulls of the islands, by a general chase. The execution of this design having deprived the Buccaneers of their usual resources, put them under the necessity of making settlements, and cultivating the lands.

FRANCE, which till that time had disclaimed for her subjects these ruffians, whose successes were only temporary, acknowledged them, however, as soon as they formed themselves into settlements. In 1665, she sent them over a man of probity and understanding to govern them. Several women attended him, who, like most of those who have at different periods been sent into the New World, were noted for their vices and licentiousness. The  
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Buccaneers were not offended at the profligacy of their manners; each of them said to the woman who fell to his lot:

“I take thee, without knowing, or caring to know, whom thou art. If any body from whence thou comest would have had thee, thou wouldst not have come in quest of me; but no matter. I do not desire thee to give me an account of thy past conduct, because I have no right to be offended at it, at the time when thou wast at liberty to behave either well or ill, according to thy own pleasure; and because I shall have no reason to be ashamed of any thing thou wast guilty of when thou didst not belong to me. Give me only thy word for the future. I acquit thee of what is past.” Then striking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added; “This will revenge me of thy breach of faith; if thou shouldst prove false, this will certainly be true to my aim.”

The English conquer Jamaica.

THE English had not waited till their rivals had obtained a firm settlement in the Great Antilles to procure themselves an establishment there. The declining state of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by it's internal divisions, by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, by the commotions of Naples, by the destruction of it's formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy, by it's continual losses in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of it's ministers, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which, after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itself on great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtiness: all these circumstances, tending

tending to the ruin of the Spanish monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be successfully waged against her. France skilfully took the advantage of these confusions she had partly occasioned; and Cromwell, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to share in the spoils of a kingdom hastening to destruction in every part.

THIS conduct of the Protector caused a revolt among the best English officers, who, considering it as an instance of great injustice, determined to quit the service. They thought that the will of their superiors could not give sanction to an enterprise, which violated all the principles of equity; and that by concurring in the execution of it, they would be guilty of the greatest crime. The rest of the Europeans looked upon these principles of virtue and honour, as the effect of that republican and fanatical spirit which then prevailed in England; but they attacked the Protector with other motives.

SPAIN had long threatened to enslave all other nations. Perhaps the multitude, who are little able to estimate the strength of nations, and to weigh the variations in the balance of power, were not yet recovered from their ancient prejudices. An universal panic had seized the minds of those able men who attentively studied the general progress of affairs. They were sensible, that if the rapid and extraordinary successes of France were not checked by some foreign power, she would deprive the Spaniards of their possessions, impose on them what laws she thought proper, compel them to the marriage of the Infanta with Lewis the XIV. secure

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to herself the inheritance of Charles the V. and oppress the liberty of Europe that she had formerly protected. Cromwell, who had lately subverted the government of his country, seemed a fit person to give a check to the power of kings; but he was looked upon as the weakest of politicians, when he was observed to form connections, which his own private interests, those of his country, as well as those of Europe in general, ought absolutely to have prevented him from entering into.

THESE observations could not possibly escape the deep and penetrating genius of the usurper. But, perhaps, he was desirous of preserving the idea the nation already entertained of his abilities, by some important conquest. If he had declared himself on the side of Spain, the execution of this project must have been chimerical; as the utmost he could possibly expect was to restore the balance of power between the two contending parties. He imagined it more favourable to his designs to begin to form a connection with France, and afterwards to attack her, when he had made himself master of those possessions that were the object of his ambition. Whatever truth there may be in these conjectures, which, however, may be supported from the evidence of history, and are, at least, consistent with the character of the extraordinary politician, who is supposed to have adopted this mode of reasoning, the English went into the New World to attack an enemy they had just brought upon themselves.

THEIR first attempts were directed against the town of St. Domingo, the inhabitants of which retired into the woods as soon as they saw a large fleet commanded by Penny and nine thousand land forces, headed by Venables, appear before the city. But the errors committed by their enemies, inspiring these fugitives with fresh courage, they returned, and compelled the enemy to reembark with disgrace. This misfortune was the consequence of the ill-concerted plan of this expedition.

THE two commanders of this enterprise were men of very moderate abilities. They entertained a mutual hatred against each other, and were not attached to the Protector. Inspectors had been appointed to watch over them, who, under the name of commissaries, checked their operations. The soldiers who were sent from Europe were the refuse of the army; and the militia, taken from Barbadoes and St. Christopher's, were under no kind of discipline. The hope of plunder, that stimulus so necessary for the success of distant and difficult enterprises, was prohibited. Matters were arranged in such a manner, as to render it impossible for any kind of harmony to subsist between the several persons who were to concur in their success. Proper arms, provisions fit for the climate, and the information necessary to conduct the enterprise, were all wanting.

THE execution of the attack was answerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been effected without danger even in the port itself,



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itself, was accomplished without a guide, at forty miles distance. The troops wandered about for four days without water or provisions. Exhausted by the excessive heat of the climate, and discouraged by the cowardice and misunderstanding of their officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards for victory. They scarce thought themselves in safety when they had got back to their ships.

BUT ill success contributed to reconcile the irritated parties. The English, who had not yet contracted the habit of bearing disgrace, reclaimed by the very faults they had committed, and restored to the love of their country, to a sense of their duty, and to a thirst of glory, sailed for Jamaica, with a determined resolution, either to perish, or to make the conquest of it.

THE inhabitants of this island, subject to Spain since the year 1509, were ignorant of what had happened at St. Domingo, and did not imagine they had any enemy sailing in the neighbouring seas. The English therefore landed without opposition. They were boldly marching to lay siege to St. Jago, the only fortified place in the colony, when the governor gave a check to their ardour, by offering them terms of capitulation. The discussion of the articles, artfully prolonged, gave the colonists time to remove their most valuable effects into secret places. They themselves fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, leaving only to the conquerors a city without inhabitants, moveables, treasures, or provisions.

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THIS artifice exasperated the besiegers. They sent out detachments on every side, with express orders to destroy every thing they met with. The disappointment they felt on finding these parties return without having discovered any thing; the want of every convenience, more sensibly felt by this nation than any other; the mortality which increased among them every day; the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the New World: all these circumstances conspired to make them clamorous for a speedy return into England. The cowardly desertion of so rich a prize as Jamaica, which they had almost resolved upon, would soon have exposed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not discovered at last some pasture land, where the fugitives had conveyed their numerous flocks. This unexpected good fortune occasioned a change in the sentiments of the English, and made them resolve to complete their conquest.

THE spirit of activity, which this last resolution had excited, convinced the besieged, that they could not remain with safety in the forests and precipices where they had concealed themselves. They unanimously, therefore, agreed to set sail for Cuba. Here they were received with such marks of disgrace as the weakness of their defence deserved, and they were sent back again; but with such succours as were unequal to the forces they had to contend with. From that principle of honour, which in most men arises rather from a fear of shame than a love of glory, they made a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected

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from the few resources they had. They did not evacuate this considerable island, till they were reduced to the greatest extremities; and from that period it hath remained one of the most valuable possessions of Great Britain in the New World.

BEFORE the English had made any settlement at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, some pirates of both nations, who have since been so much distinguished by the name of Freebooters, had driven the Spaniards out of the small island of Tortuga, situated at the distance of two leagues from St. Domingo; and fortifying themselves there, had made excursions with amazing intrepidity against the common enemy. They formed themselves into small companies, consisting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or smaller size, was all their naval force. These boats were scarce big enough for a person to lie down in, and they had nothing to shelter them from the ardent heats of a burning climate, nor from the rains, which fall in torrents in those regions. They were often in want of the most necessary supports of life. But all these calamities were forgotten at the sight of a ship. They never deliberated on the attack, but proceeded immediately to board the ship, of whatever size it might be. As soon as they threw out the grappling, the vessel was certainly taken.

In cases of extreme necessity, these banditti attacked the people of every nation; but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exercised on the Americans, justified the implacable aversion they had  
swor'n

swor'n against them. But this extraordinary kind of humanity was heightened by personal resentment, from the mortification they felt, in seeing themselves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fishing, which they justly considered as natural rights. Such was their infatuation, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they used to pray to Heaven for the success of it; and they never came back from the plunder, but they constantly returned thanks to God for their victory.

THE ships that arrived from Europe seldom tempted their avidity. These barbarians would have found nothing but merchandise in them, the sale of which would not have been very profitable, and would have required too constant an attention. They always waited for them on their return, when they were laden with the gold, silver, and jewels of the other hemisphere. If they met with a single ship, they never failed to attack her. They followed the fleets themselves, and any ship that straggled, or remained behind, was inevitably lost. The Spaniards, who trembled at the sight of these implacable enemies, immediately surrendered. Life was granted to them, if the cargo proved a rich one; but if the conquerors were disappointed in their expectations, all the crew were frequently throw'n into the sea.

PETER LEGRAND, a native of Dieppe, had no more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men in his boat; yet with this trifling force he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the gal-



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leons. He boarded him, having first given orders to sink his own vessel; and the Spaniards were so much surprised at this boldness, that not one of them attempted to oppose him. When he came to the captain's cabin, who was engaged at play, he presented a pistol to him, and compelled him to surrender. This commander, with the greater part of the crew, they landed at the nearest cape, as a useless burden to the ship they had so ill defended, and reserved only a sufficient number of sailors to work her.

FIFTY-five free-booters, who had sailed into the southern sea, proceeded as far as California. To return into the northern sea, they were obliged to sail two thousand leagues against the wind in a canoe. When they were at the Straights of Magellan, they were seized with rage at having made no plunder in so rich an ocean, and steered again towards Peru. They were informed that there was in the port of Yauca, a ship the cargo of which was valued at several millions: they immediately attacked, took her, and embarked upon her.

MICHAEL DE BASCO, Jonqué, and Lawrence le Graff, were cruising before Carthagea with three small and bad vessels, when two men of war sailed out of the harbour to attack these free-booters, and to bring them alive or dead. The Spaniards were so much deceived in their expectations, that they were themselves taken prisoners. The victors kept the ships; but they sent back the crews with a degree of scorn, which

greatly

greatly enhanced the shame of a defeat in itself so humiliating.

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MICHAEL and Brouage having received intelligence, that a very valuable cargo had been shipped from Carthagena in vessels, carrying a foreign flag, in order to secure it from their rapine, attacked the two ships that were loaded with this treasure, and plundered them. The Dutch captains, exasperated at their being beaten by ships so inferior to their's, ventured to tell one of these adventurers openly, that if he had been alone, he would not dare to attack them. *Let us begin the fight again,* replied the Buccaneer with haughtiness, *and my companion shall remain a quiet spectator of the engagement. If I should be conqueror again, both your ships shall also be mine.* The prudent republicans, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, apprehending if they should stop, that they might not have the liberty of declining it.

LAWRENCE, who was on board a very small vessel, was overtaken by two Spanish ships, carrying each sixty guns. *You have,* said he, *addressing himself to his companions, too much experience not to be sensible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it. On this occasion we must avail ourselves of every circumstance, hazard every thing, attack and defend ourselves at the same time. Valour, artifice, rashness, and even despair itself, must now be employed. Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelty of our enemies; and let us fight, that we may escape them.*

AFTER this speech, which was received with general applause, the captain called to the bravest of the free-booters, and publicly ordered him to set fire to the gun-powder, on the first signal he should give him; shewing, by this resolution, that they must either expect death, or defend themselves. Then extending his hand toward the enemy, *We must, says he, pass between their ships, and fire upon them from every side, according to your usual custom.* This plan of operation was executed with equal courage and dispatch. The ships indeed were not taken; but the crews were so reduced in number, that they either were not able, or had not courage enough to continue the combat against a handful of resolute men, who, even in their retreat, carried away the honour of the victory. The Spanish commander atoned, by his death, for the disgrace his ignorance and cowardice had stamped upon his country. In every engagement the free-booters shewed the same spirit of intrepidity.

WHEN they had got a considerable booty, at first they held their rendezvous at the island of Tortuga, in order to divide the spoil; but afterwards the French went to St. Domingo, and the English to Jamaica. They all took an oath, that they had secreted none of the spoil. If any one among them was convicted of perjury, which seldom happened, he was left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as an infamous person. The first shares of the booty were always given to those who had been maimed

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in any of their engagements. If they had lost a hand, an arm, or a leg, they received two hundred crowns \*. An eye, or a finger, lost in fight, was valued only at half the above sum. The wounded were allowed three livres † a day for two months, to enable them to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to fulfil these sacred obligations, the whole company were bound to engage in some fresh expedition; and to continue it, even till they had acquired a sufficient stock to enable them to satisfy such honourable contracts.

AFTER this act of justice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided. The commander, in strictness, could only lay claim to a single share as the rest; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as they were satisfied with his skill, valour, and conduct. When the vessel was not the property of the company, the person who had fitted it out, and furnished it with necessary arms and provisions, was entitled to a third of the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the division of the booty; for every share was rigidly determined by lot. This probity was extended even to the dead. Their share was given to their surviving companion. If the person who had been killed had none, his part was sent to his family. If there were no friends or relations, it was distributed in charity to the poor and to churches, which were to pray for the person in whose name these

\* 25 l.

† 2 s. 6 d.



benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but necessary piratical plunder.

THEY afterwards indulged themselves in profusions of all kinds. Unbounded licentiousness in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmost pitch of excess, and was stopt only by the want which such profusions brought on. Those men who were enriched with several millions, were in an instant totally ruined, and destitute of clothes and provisions. They returned to sea, and the new supplies they acquired were soon lavished in the same manner. If these madmen were asked, what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly, what they had gained with so much difficulty; they made this very ingenuous reply: "Exposed as we are to such a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding up? We reckon only the day we live, but never think upon that which is to come. Our concern is rather to squander life away, than to preserve it."

THE Spanish colonies, flattering themselves with the hopes of seeing an end to their miseries, and reduced almost to despair in finding themselves a perpetual prey to these ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniences and fortune their connections procured them, and formed themselves almost into so many distinct and separate states. They were sensible of the inconveniences arising from

from such a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and savage men, had greater influence over them, than the dictates of honour, interest, and policy. This was the rise of that spirit of inactivity which continues to this time.

THIS dependency served only to increase the boldness of the free-booters. As yet they had only appeared in the Spanish settlements, in order to carry off some provisions; and even this they had done very seldom. They no sooner found their captures begin to diminish, than they determined to recover by land, what they had lost at sea. The richest and most populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waste. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than sail in the latitudes which belonged to them.

AMONG the free-booters, who signalized themselves in this new species of excursions, Montbar; a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly distinguished himself. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial account of the cruelties practised in the New World, he conceived an aversion, which he carried to a degree of frenzy against that nation that had committed such enormities. Upon this point a story is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the person who personated the Spaniard with such fury, that he would have strangled him, had he not been rescued

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rescued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually represented to him innumerable multitudes of people massacred by savage monsters who came out of Spain. He was animated with an irresistible ardour to avenge so much innocent blood. The enthusiasm this spirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel than the thirst of gold, or the fanaticism of religion, to which so many victims had been sacrificed. The manes of these unhappy sufferers seemed to rouse him, and call upon him for vengeance. He had hear'd some account of the *brethren of the coast*, as of the most inveterate enemies to the Spanish name: he therefore embarked on board a ship in order to join them.

In the passage they met with a Spanish vessel, attacked it, and, as it was usual in those times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a sabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and hurrying twice from one end of the ship to the other, levelled every thing that opposed him. When he had compelled the enemy to surrender, leaving to his companions the happiness of dividing so rich a booty, he contented himself with the savage pleasure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards lying in heaps together, against whom he had swor'n a constant and deadly hatred.

FRESH opportunities soon occurred, that enabled him to exert this spirit of revenge, without extinguishing it. The ship he was upon arrived at the coast of St. Domingo. The French, who were settled in the island, brought him only a

small quantity of refreshment, and alleged in excuse, that the Spaniards had laid waste their settlements. "Why," replied Montbar, "do you suffer such insults?" "Neither do we," answered they in the same tone; "the Spaniards have experienced what kind of men we are, and have therefore taken advantage of the time when we were engaged in hunting. But we are going to join some of our companions, who have been still more ill-treated than we, and then we shall have warm work." "If you approve it," answered Montbar, "I will head you, not as your commander, but as the foremost to expose myself to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was such a man as they wanted, cheerfully accepted his offer. The same day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuosity that astonished the bravest. Nothing escaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally distinguished as this day. The Spaniards suffered so much from him, both by land and at sea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

His savage disposition, as well as that of the other Buccaneers who attended him, having obliged the Spaniards to confine themselves within their settlements, these free-booters resolved to attack them there. This new method of carrying on the war required superior forces, and their associations, in consequence, became more numerous. The first that was considerable, was formed by Lolonois, who derived his name from the



the sands of Olone, the place of his birth. From the abject state of a bondsman, he had gradually raised himself to the command of two canoes, with twenty-two men. With these he was so successful, as to take a Spanish frigate on the coast of Cuba. A slave having observed that all the men who were wounded were put to death, and fearing lest he should share the same fate, wanted to save himself by a perfidious declaration, but very consistent with the part he had been destined to take. He assured them, that the governor of the Havannah had put him on board, in order to serve as executioner to all the Buccaneers he had sentenced to be hanged, not doubting in the least but they would be all taken prisoners. The savage Lolonois, fired with rage at this declaration, ordered all the Spaniards to be brought before him, and cut off their heads one after another, sucking, at each stroke, the drops of blood that trickled down his sabre. He then repaired to the Port-au-Prince, in which were four ships, fitted out purposely to sail in pursuit of him. He took them, and threw all the crews into the sea, except one man, whom he saved, in order to send him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and assuring him, that he would treat in the same manner all the Spaniards that should fall into his hands, not excepting the governor himself, if he should be so fortunate as to take him. After this expedition, he ran his canoes and prize-ships a-ground, and sailed with his frigate only to the island of Tortuga.

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HERE he met with Michael de Basco, who had so much distinguished himself in having taken, even under the cannon of Porto-Bello, a Spanish ship, estimated at five or six millions of livres, and by other actions equally brave and daring. These two adventurers gave out, that they were going together upon some important project, and they were joined by four hundred and forty men. This corps, the most numerous the Buccaneers had yet been able to muster, sailed to the bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country for the space of fifty leagues. The fort that was built at the entrance of it for it's defence was taken; the cannon spiked, and the whole garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, put to the sword. They then reembarked, and came to Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake of the same name, at the distance of ten leagues from it's mouth. This city, which had become flourishing and rich by it's trade in skins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deserted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other side of the bay. If the Buccaneers had not lost a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants had secreted, to secure it from being plundered. On the contrary, they met with fortifications lately erected, which they had the useless satisfaction of making themselves masters of, at the expence of a great deal of blood; for the inhabitants had

• From 208,333 l. 6s. 8d. to 250,000 l.

already

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already removed at a distance the most valuable part of their property. Exasperated at this disappointment, they set fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have shared the same fate, had it not been ransomed. Beside the sum they received for it's ransom, they also carried off with them all the crosses, pictures, and bells of the churches; intending, as they said, to build a chapel in the island of Tortuga, and to consecrate this part of their spoils to sacred purposes. Such was the religion of these barbarous people, who could make no other offering to heaven, than that which arose from their robberies and plunder.

While they were idly dissipating the spoils they had made on the coast of Venezuela, Morgan, the most renowned of the English free-booters, sailed from Jamiaca to attack Porto-Bello. His plan of operations was so well contrived, that he surprised the city, and took it without opposition. In order to secure the fort with the same facility, he compelled the women and the priests to fix the scaling ladders to the walls, from a full conviction, that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards would never suffer them to fire at the persons they considered as the objects of their love and reverence. But the garrison was not to be deceived by this artifice, and was only to be subdued by force of arms; the treasures that were carried away from this famous port were acquired at the expence of much bloodshed.

The conquest of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To secure this, Morgan thought it necessary to sail in the latitudes of

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Costa Ricca, to procure some guides in the island of St. Catharine, to which the Spaniards transported their malefactors. This place was so strongly fortified, that it ought to have stopped the progress of the most intrepid commander for ten years. Notwithstanding this, the governor, on the first appearance of the pirates, sent privately to concert measures how he might surrender himself without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The result of this consultation was, that Morgan, in the night-time, should attack a fort at some distance, and that the governor should fall out of the citadel to defend this important post; that the besiegers should then attack him in the rear, and take him prisoner, which would consequently occasion a surrender of the place. It was agreed that a brisk firing should be kept up on both sides, without doing mischief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being exposed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the freebooters, after having totally demolished the fortifications, and put on board their vessels a prodigious quantity of warlike stores, which they found at St. Catharine's, steered their course towards the river Chagre, the only channel that was open to them, to arrive at the place which was the object of their utmost wishes.

At the entrance of this considerable river, a fort was built upon a steep rock, which the waves of the sea constantly beat against. This bulwark, very difficult of access, was defended by an officer, whose extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage,



courage, and by a garrison that deserved such a commander. The free-booters, for the first time, here met with a resistance that could only be equalled by their perseverance: it was a doubtful point, whether they would succeed, or be obliged to raise the siege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the besiegers then taking advantage of this double calamity, made themselves masters of the place.

MORGAN left his vessels at anchor, with a sufficient number of men to guard them, and sailed up the river in his boats for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceases to be navigable. He then proceeded by land to Panama, which was only five leagues distant. Upon a large and extensive plain that was before the city, he met with a considerable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greatest ease, and entered into the city, that was now abandoned.

HERE were found prodigious treasures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring forests were also found several rich deposits. But the party of free-booters who were making excursions into the country, little satisfied with this booty, exercised the most shocking tortures on the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians they discovered, to oblige them to confess where they had secreted their own as well as their masters riches. A beggar, accidentally going into a castle that had been deserted

deserted through fear, found some apparel that he put on. He had scarcely dressed himself in this manner, when he was perceived by these pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man shewed them the ragged cloaths he had just throw'n off. He was instantly tortured, but as he made no discovery, he was given up to some slaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treasure the Spaniards had acquired in the New World by massacres and tortures, were restored again in the same manner.

In the midst of such scenes of horror, the savage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inspire the object of his attachment with favourable sentiments towards him. He was resolved therefore to subdue by force the beautiful Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. *Stop*, cried she to this savage, as she sprung with eagerness from his arms, *Stop: Thinkest thou then that thou can'st ravish my honour from me, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? Be assured that I can die, and be revenged.* Having said this, she drew out a poigniard from under her gown, which she would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow.

BUT Morgan, still inflamed with a passion which this determined resistance had turned into rage, instead of the tenderness and attention he had made use of to prevail upon his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greatest inhumanity. The fair Spaniard, immoveably resolute, stimulated, at the same time that she resisted the frantic desires of Morgan; till at last the pirates, expressing

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ling their resentment at being kept so long in a state of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the necessity of listening to their complaints, and giving up his pursuit. Panama was burnt. They then set sail with a great number of prisoners, who were ransomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

BEFORE the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the division of the spoil, Morgan, while the rest of the pirates were in a deep sleep, with the principal free-booters of his own country, sailed for Jamaica, in a vessel which he had laden with the rich spoils of a city, that served as the staple of commerce between the old and the New World. This instance of treachery, unheard-of before, excited a rage and resentment not to be described. The English pursued the robber, in hopes of wresting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been frustrated. The French, though sharers in the same loss, retired to the island of Tortuga, from whence they made several expeditions. But they were all trifling, till, in the year 1683, they attempted one of the greatest importance.

THE plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Ostend, though he had served all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him suffer the least signs of cowardice among those who were associated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ship, successively observed his men, and immediately killed those who shrunk at the sudden report of a

pistol,

pistol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary discipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other respects, he readily shared with the men of spirit and bravery the immense riches that were acquired by so truly warlike a disposition. When he went up on these expeditions, he generally sailed in his frigate, which was his own property. But these new designs requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his assistance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, distinguished by their exploits, and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had signalized himself still more than they. Twelve hundred free-booters joined themselves to these famous commanders, and sailed in six vessels for Vera Cruz.

THE darkness of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being discovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the posts of the greatest consequence, every thing, in a word, that could occasion any resistance, was taken by break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were shut up in the churches, where they had fled for shelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gunpowder to blow up the building. A free-booter, with a lighted match, was to set fire to it upon the least appearance of an insurrection.

WHILE the city was kept in such terror, it was easily pillaged; and after the free-booters had carried off what was most valuable, they made a proposal to the citizens who were kept prisoners in



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the churches, to ransom their lives and liberties, by a contribution of ten millions of livres \*. These unfortunate people, who had neither eaten nor drunk for three days, cheerfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the same day: the other part was expected from the inland parts of the country; when there appeared, on an eminence, a considerable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of seventeen ships from Europe. At the sight of this armament the free-booters, without any marks of surprise, retreated quietly with fifteen hundred slaves they had carried off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the rest of the money they expected, the settling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. These russians sincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by force of arms upon the coasts where they made a descent, was their lawful property; and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of these contributions they compelled the inhabitants to sign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the interest of that part of the sum that was not yet paid.

THEIR retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly sailed through the midst of the Spanish fleet, which let them pass without firing a single gun; and were, in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have escaped so easily, and with no other

\* 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

inconvenience,

inconvenience, but such as arose from their fears, if the vessels of the pirates had not been laden with riches, or if the Spanish fleet had been freighted with any other effects but such merchandise as were little valued by these pirates.

A YEAR had scarce elapsed since their return from Mexico, when on a sudden they were all seized with the rage of going to plunder the country of Peru. They expected, undoubtedly, to find greater treasures upon a sea little frequented, than upon one so long exposed to plunder. The French and English, and even the pirate associations of these two nations, projected this plan at the same time, without having concerted it together. Four thousand men directed their course to this part of the New Hemisphere. Some of them came by the continent, and others by the Streights of Magellan, to the place that was the object of their wishes. If the intrepidity of these barbarians had been directed, by a skilful and respectable commander, to one single uniform end, this important colony would have been lost to Spain. But their natural character was an invincible obstacle to so rare an union; for they always formed themselves into several distinct bodies, sometimes into so few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together, or separately, as the most trifling caprice directed. Grogner, Lécuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the most distinguished officers among the French: David, Samms, Peter, Wilner, and Townley, among the English.

SUCH of those adventurers as had got into the South Sea by the Streights of Darien, seized upon

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the first vessels they found upon the coast. Their associates, who had sailed in their own vessels, were not much better provided. Weak however as they were, they beat, sunk, or took, all the ships that were fitted out against them. The Spaniards then suspended their navigations. The free-booters were continually obliged to make descents upon the coasts to get provisions; or to go by land in order to plunder those cities where the booty was secured. They successively attacked Seppo, Puebla-Nuevo, Leon, Reulejo, Pueblo-Viejo, Chiriquita, Esparso, Granada, Villia, Nicoya, Tecoantepec, Mucmeluna, Chuluteca, New-Segovia, and Guayaquil, the most considerable of all these places.

As Grogner was returning home from one of those rapid expeditions, he found that a defile through which he was to pass, was occupied by some battalions that were intrenched, who offered not to impede his retreat, provided he would consent to release the prisoners he had taken. *If, said he, you would have my prisoners, you must cut their irons asunder with your sabres; with respect to my passage, my sword secures that to me.* This answer gained him a victory, and he pursued his march unmolested.

UNIVERSAL terror prevailed throughout the empire; the approach of the free-booters, and even the fear of their arrival dispersed the people. The Spaniards, grown effeminate by the most extravagant luxury, enervated by the peaceful exercise of their tyranny, and reduced to the state of their slaves, never waited for the enemy, unless they

were

were at least twenty to one; and even then they were beaten. They retained no impression of the pride and nobility of their origin. They were so much degenerated, that they had lost all ideas of the art of war, and were even scarce acquainted with the use of fire-arms. They were but little better than the Americans, whom they trampled upon. This extraordinary want of courage was increased, from the idea they had conceived of the ferocious men who attacked them. Their monks had draw'n them with the same hideous features, with which they represented devils; and they themselves had overcharged the picture. Such a representation, the offspring of a wild and terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every mind aversion and terror.

NOTWITHSTANDING the excess of their resentment, the Spaniards only recked their revenge upon their foes, when they were no more able to inspire terror. As soon as the Buccaneers had quitted the place they had plundered, and if any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was dugged up again, mutilated, or made to pass through the various kinds of torture, that would have been practised upon the man, had he been alive. This abhorrence of the free-booters was extended even to the places on which they had exercised their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and soil of the places which had been laid waste were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.



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THIS rage, equally impotent and childish, could only contribute to embolden that of their enemies. As soon as they took a town, it was directly set on fire, unless a sum, proportioned to it's value, was given to save it. The prisoners taken in battle were massacred without mercy, if they were not ransomed by government, or by individuals: gold, pearls, or precious stones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ransom. Silver being too common, and too weighty in proportion to it's value, would have been troublesome to them. In a word, the chances of fortune, that seldom leave guilt unpunished, nor adversity without a compensation for it's sufferings, atoned for the crimes committed in the conquest of the New World, and the Indians were amply avenged of the Spaniards.

BUT it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that those who committed such outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the course of these piracies, from the effects of the climate, from distress or debauchery. Some were shipwrecked in passing the Streights of Magellan, and at Cape Horn. Most of those who attempted to get to the Northern Sea by land, fell into the ambuscade that was laid for them, and lost either their lives, or the booty they had acquired. The English and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that lasted four years, and found themselves deprived of their bravest inhabitants.

WHILE such piracies were committed on the Southern Ocean, the Northern was threatened

with

with the same by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had distinguished himself in a military capacity in Europe; but his passion for wine, gaming, and women, had induced him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were sufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous, and eloquent: he was endued with a sound judgment, and was a person of approved valour, which soon made him be considered as the chief of the French free-booters. As soon as it was know'n that he had taken up arms, he was immediately joined by a number of brave men. The governor of St. Domingo, who had at length prevailed upon his master to approve of the project, equally wise and just, of fixing the pirates to some place, and inducing them to become cultivators, was desirous of preventing the concerted expedition, and forbade it in the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater share of sense than his associates, was not on that account more inclined to comply, and sternly replied: *How can Lewis disapprove of a design he is unacquainted with, and which hath been planned only a few days ago?* This answer highly pleased all the free-booters, who directly embarked, in 1685, to attack Campeachy.

THEY landed without opposition. But at some distance from the coast, they were attacked by eight hundred Spaniards, who were beaten and pursued to the town, where both parties entered at the same time. The cannon they found there was immediately levelled against the citadel. As

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it had very little effect, they were contriving some stratagem to enable them to become masters of the place, when intelligence was brought that it was abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Englishman, and an officer of such signal courage, that he chose rather to expose himself to the greatest extremities, than basely to fly from the place with the rest. The commander of the Buccaneers received him with marks of distinction, generously released him, gave him up all his effects, and besides complimented him with some valuable presents: such influence have courage and fidelity, even on the minds of those who seem to violate all the rights of society.

THE conquerors of Campeachy spent two months in searching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitants, in their flight, thought they had preserved. When all the treasure they had collected from every quarter was deposited in the ships, a proposal was made to the governor of the province, who still kept the field with nine hundred men, to ransom his capital city. His refusal determined them to burn it, and demolish the citadel. The French, on the festival of St. Louis, were celebrating the anniversary of their king; and, in the transports of their patriotism, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million \* of logwood; a part, and a very considerable one too, of the spoil they had made. After

this singular and extravagant instance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boast, they returned to St. Domingo.

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THE little advantage which the English and French free-booters had made by their last expeditions upon the continent, had insensibly led them to have recourse to their usual pyratrical expeditions upon the sea. Both were employed in attacking the ships they met with; when a particular train of circumstances again engaged the French in that course, which every thing had rendered them dissatisfied with.

A FEW enterprising men had fitted out in 1697, in the ports of France, and under the sanction of government, seven ships of the line, and a proportionate number of inferior vessels. This fleet, commanded by Commodore Pointis, conveyed troops for landing; and it's destination was against Carthagena, one of the richest and best fortified towns of the New World. It was expected that this expedition would be attended with great difficulties, but it was hoped that they would be surmounted, if the Buccaneers would assist in it, which they did engage to do, from motives of complaisance to Ducasse, governor of St. Domingo, who was, and deserved to be, their idol.

THESE men, whose boldness could not be restrained, did still more than was expected from them. No sooner had they perceived a small breach in the fortifications of the lower town, than they stormed the place, and planted their standards



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K.

standards upon the walls. They carried the other works with the same intrepidity. The town surrendered, and its submission was owed to the Buccaneers.

ALL kinds of enormities succeeded this event. The general, who was an unjust, covetous, and cruel man, broke every article of the capitulation. Although the apprehensions of an army, that was collecting in the inland country, had made him consent that the inhabitants should keep half of their moveable effects, yet every thing was given up to the most horrible plunder. The officers were the first thieves; and it was not till they had gorged themselves with the spoils, that the soldiers were suffered to ransack the houses. As for the Buccaneers, they were kept in employment out of the town, while the treasure was seized.

POINTIS pretended that the spoils did not exceed seven or eight millions of livres\*. Ducasse valued them at 30,000,000 †, and others at 40,000,000 ‡. The Buccaneers, according to agreement, were to receive one quarter of the whole, whatever it might be. They were however given to understand, that their profit would only amount to 40,000 crowns §.

THE ships had set sail when the proposal was made to these intrepid men, who had decided the victory. Exasperated at this treatment, which so evidently affected their rights, and disappointed

\* From 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 323,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

† 1,250,000 l.

‡ 1,666,666 l. 10 s. 4 d.

§ 5000 l.

their

their expectations, they resolved immediately to board the vessel called *the Scepter*, where Pointis himself was, and which, at that time, was too far distant from the rest of the ships, to expect to be assisted by them. This infamous commander was upon the point of being massacred, when one of the mal-contents cried out: *Brethren, why should we attack this rascal? He hath carried off nothing that belongs to us. He hath left our share at Cartagena, and there we must go to recover it.* This proposal was received with general applause. A savage joy at once succeeded that gloomy melancholy which had seized them, and without further deliberation all their ships sailed towards the city.

As soon as they had entered the city without meeting with any resistance, the Buccaneers shut up all the men in the great church, and spoke to them in the following words;

“ WE are not ignorant that you consider us  
 “ as men void of faith, and of all religion, as  
 “ infernal beings rather than men. The abhor-  
 “ rence you have of us, hath been manifested by  
 “ the opprobrious terms with which you affect to  
 “ describe us; and your mistrust of us, by your  
 “ refusing to treat with us of your capitulation.  
 “ You see us here armed, and capable of avenging  
 “ ourselves. The paleness visible upon your  
 “ countenances plainly shews that you expect the  
 “ most severe treatment; and your conscience  
 “ tells you, no doubt, that you deserve it. Be  
 “ at length undeceived, and acknowledge, in  
 “ this instance, that the injurious appellations

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“ with which you stigmatize us, are not to be  
 “ applied to us, but to the infamous general un-  
 “ der whose command we lately fought. The  
 “ traitor to whom we have opened the gates of the  
 “ city, which he would never have entered with-  
 “ out our assistance, hath seized upon the spoils  
 “ acquired at our hazard, and by our courage ;  
 “ and by this act of injustice hath compelled us  
 “ to return to you. Our moderation must jus-  
 “ tify our sincerity. We will quit your city im-  
 “ mediately, upon your delivering 5,000,000 of  
 “ livres \* into our hands. This is the whole of  
 “ our claim; and we pledge our honour to you,  
 “ that we will instantly retreat. But if you re-  
 “ fuse us so moderate a contribution, look at our  
 “ sabres : we swear by them that we will spare  
 “ no person; and when the misfortunes which  
 “ threaten you shall come upon you, and upon  
 “ your wives and children, accuse none but your-  
 “ selves and the worthless Pointis, whom you are  
 “ at liberty to load with all kinds of execra-  
 “ tions.”

AFTER this discourse, a sacred orator mounted the pulpit, and made use of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to persuade his hearers to yield up, without reserve, all the gold, silver, and jewels they had. The collection made after the sermon not furnishing the sum required, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houses they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but

\* 208,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

with

with no great success; and the instruments of torture were at length produced.

Two of the citizens of the greatest distinction were seized, and after them two more, in order to endeavour to extort from them, where the public money, as well as that of individuals, was concealed. They all answered, separately, with so much candour, as well as firmness, that they were ignorant of it, that avarice itself was disarmed. Some muskets were, however, fired off, to induce a belief that these unfortunate men had been shot. Every one apprehended the same fate; and that very evening, one million of livres \* was brought in to the free-booters. The following days produced also something more. Despairing, at length, to add any thing to what they had already amassed, they set sail. Unfortunately they fell in with a fleet of Dutch and English ships, both those nations being then in alliance with Spain, and several of their small vessels were either taken or sunk; the rest escaped to St. Domingo.

SUCH was the last memorable event in the history of the free-booters.

THE separation of the English and French, when the war, on account of the Prince of Orange, divided the two nations: the successful means they both made use of to promote the cultivation of land in their colonies, by the assistance of these enterprizing men, the prudence that was shewn, in fixing the most distinguished among

\* 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

them,



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them, and intrusting them with civil and military employments: the protection they were under a necessity of affording successively to the Spanish settlements, which, till then, had been a general object of plunder: all these circumstances, and various others, beside the impossibility there was of supplying the place of so many extraordinary men, who were continually dropping off, concurred to put an end to the most singular society that had ever existed. Without any regular system, without laws, without any degree of subordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the astonishment of the age in which they lived, as they will also be of posterity. They would have subdued all America, had they been animated with the spirit of conquest, as they were with that of rapine.

ENGLAND, France, and Holland, had sent, at different times, considerable fleets into the New World. The intemperance of the climate, the want of subsistence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the best concerted schemes unsuccessful. Neither of these nations acquired any national glory, nor made any considerable progress by them. Upon the very scene of their disgrace, and on the very spot where they were so shamefully repulsed, a small number of adventurers, who had no other resources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itself afforded them, succeeded in the most difficult enterprizes. They supplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded passion for liberty and independence, excited

excited and kept up in them that energy of soul BOOK  
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that enables us to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigour, that superiority in action, which the most approved military discipline, the most powerful combinations of strength, the best regulated governments, the most honourable and most striking rewards and marks of distinction, will never be able to excite.

THE principle which actuated these extraordinary and romantic men, is not easily discovered. It cannot be ascribed to want: the earth they trod upon, offered them immense treasures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have squandered away in a day, the spoils acquired in a whole campaign? As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore sacrifice themselves for it's defence, for the aggrandizing of it's territories; or for the avenging of it's quarrels. The love of glory, had they know'n it, would have prevented them from committing such numberless enormities and crimes, which cast a shade on all their brightest actions. Neither could a spirit of indolence and ease ever make men expose themselves to constant fatigues, and submit to the greatest dangers.

WHAT then were the moral causes that gave rise to so singular a society as that of the freebooters? That country, where nature seems to have obtained a perpetual, and absolute power over the most turbulent passions; where the intemperate riot and intoxication occasioned by public

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public festivals, was necessary to rouse men from an habitual state of lethargy; where they lived satisfied with their tedious and indolent course of life: that country became at once inhabited by an ardent and impetuous people, who, from the scorching heat of their atmosphere, seemed to have carried their sentiments to the greatest excess, and their passions to a degree of phrenzy. While the heats of a burning climate enervated the old conquerors of the New World; while the Spaniards, who were so restless and turbulent in their own country, enjoyed with the conquered Americans a life habituated to ease and dejection; a set of men, who had come out of the most temperate climates in Europe, went under the equator to acquire powers unknown before.

If we should be desirous of tracing the origin of this revolution, we shall perceive that it arises from the free-booters having lived under the shackles of European governments. The spirit of liberty being repressed for so many ages, exerted its power to a degree almost inconceivable, and occasioned the most terrible effects that were ever exhibited in the moral world. Restless and enthusiastic men of every nation joined themselves to these adventurers, as soon as they heard of the success they had met with. The charms of novelty, the idea of and desire excited by distant objects, the want of a change in situation, the hopes of better fortune, the impulse which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions, admiration, which easily induces men to imitation, the necessity of getting the

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better of those impediments that are the consequences of imprudence, the force of example, and the being equally partakers of the same good and bad fortune among those who have frequently associated together; in a word, the temporary ferment which all the elements together, with several accidental circumstances, had raised in the minds of men, alternately elevated to the greatest prosperity, or sunk in the deepest distress, at one time stained with blood, at another revelling in voluptuousness, rendered the free-booters a people wholly distinct in history; but a people whose duration was so transient, that its glory lasted, as it were, but a moment.

WE are, however, accustomed to consider these ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deserve; as the instances of fidelity, integrity, disinterestedness and generosity, they shewed to one another, did not prevent the outrages they perpetually committed against mankind. But amidst such enormities, it is impossible not to be surprized at a variety of brave and noble actions, that would have reflected honour on the most virtuous people.

SOME free-booters had agreed, for a certain sum, to escort a Spanish ship, very richly laden. One of them ventured to propose to his companions to enrich themselves at once, by making themselves masters of the ship. Montauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no sooner heard the proposal, than he desired to resign the command, and to be set on shore. What! replied these brave men, would you then

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leave



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leave us? Is there any one among us who approves of the treachery that you abhor? A council was immediately called; and it was determined that the guilty person should be throw'n upon the first coast they came to. They took an oath, that so dishonest a man should never be admitted in any expedition, in which any of the brave men present should be concerned, as they would think themselves dishonoured by such a connection. If this be not considered as an instance of heroism, must we then expect to meet with heroes in an age, in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthusiasm?

ACCORDINGLY, the history of past times doth not offer, nor will that of future times ever produce, an example of such an association; which is almost as marvellous as the discovery of the New World. Nothing but this event could have given rise to it, by collecting together, in those distant regions, all the men of the highest impetuosity and energy of soul that had ever appeared in our states.

THEIR sword, and their daring spirit, which they exercised with such terrible effect in America, was the only fortune which these men of so uncommon a stamp possessed in Europe. In America, being enemies to all mankind, and dreaded by all; perpetually exposed to the most extreme dangers, they must necessarily have considered every day as if the last of their life, and they would, consequently, dissipate their wealth in the same manner as they had acquired it.

They would give themselves up to all the excesses of debauchery and profusion; and on their return from the fight, the intoxication of their victory would accompany them in their feasts; they would embrace their mistresses in their bloody arms; they would fall asleep, for a while, lulled by voluptuous pleasures, from which they would be roused only to proceed to new massacres. As it was a matter of indifference to them, whether they should leave their bodies upon the surface of the earth, or underneath the waters, they must necessarily look upon life, or death, with the same coolness. With a ferocious turn of mind, and a misguided conscience, destitute of connections, of relations, of friends, of fellow citizens, of a country, and of an asylum, and without having any of those motives which moderate the ardour of bravery, by the value which they attach to existence, they must necessarily have rushed, like men deprived of sight, upon the most desperate attempts. Equally incapable of submitting to indigence, or to quiet; too proud to employ themselves in common labour, they would have been the scourge of the Old, had they not been that of the New World. Had they not gone to ravage those distant countries, they would have ransacked our provinces, and would have left behind them a name famous in the catalogue of our greatest villains.

AMERICA had scarce recovered from the ravages she had sustained; she had scarce begun to be sensible of the advantages she derived from the industry of the free-booters, who were now be-

Causes that prevented the English and Dutch from making any conquest in

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America,  
during the  
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cession.

come citizens and husbandmen; when the Old World exhibited the scene of such a revolution, as alarmed and terrified the New. Charles the Second, king of Spain, had just ended a life of trouble and anxiety. His subjects, persuaded that a descendent of the house of Bourbon alone was able to preserve the monarchy entire, had urged him, towards the close of his life, to appoint the duke of Anjou his successor. The idea of having the government of two-and-twenty kingdoms devolve to a family that was not only his rival, but his enemy, had filled him with the most gloomy apprehensions. But after several internal struggles, and numberless marks of irresolution, he at length prevailed upon himself to shew an example of justice, and greatness of soul, which the natural weakness of his character gave little reason to expect from him.

EUROPE, tired out, for half a century, with the haughtiness, ambition, and tyranny of Lewis XIV. exerted it's combined forces to prevent the increase of a power already become too formidable. The fatal effects of a bad administration had entirely enervated the Spaniards; the spirit of superstition, and consequently of weakness, that prevailed then in France, had procured such advantages to the league, as are hardly to be paralleled, in the instance of the union of several powers against a single one. This league gained an influence, that was increased by the victories, equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every campaign. Both kingdoms were soon left without strength or fame. To add to their misfor-

tunes, their calamities were a general object of joy, and none were touched with a sense of compassion at the miseries they experienced. BOOK  
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ENGLAND and Holland, after having profusely lavished their blood and treasures in defence of the Emperor, thought it necessary to attend to their own interests in America. This country invited them to rich as well as easy conquests. Spain, since the destruction of it's galleons at Vigo, had no ships; and France, after having experienced that fatal reverse of fortune that had reduced her to the lowest ebb, had neglected her navy. This inattention was owing to a distant cause.

LEWIS XIV. who, in his earlier age, was ambitious of every thing that might add to his glory, thought that something would be wanting to the splendour of his reign if he did not establish a considerable naval force. His numerous fleets were soon in a condition to balance the combined forces of England and of Holland, and conveyed the terror of his name to the extremities of the globe. But he soon lost this new species of grandeur. In proportion as his inordinate ambition drew upon him fresh enemies, as he found himself obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in constant pay; as the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and as his forts became more numerous, the number of his ships decreased. He made use of part of the funds that were destined to support his maritime power, even before his necessities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings, that were either useless or too magnificent, ob-



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jects of ostentation, or of mere pleasure, and various other causes, equally trifling, absorbed that part of the public revenue, which ought to have been employed in his maritime armaments. From that time, this part of the power of France began to grow weak: it insensibly declined, and was entirely lost in the misfortunes of the war that was raised for the Spanish succession.

At this period, the acquisitions the Spanish and French had made in the West Indies, were not put in a state of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely soon to become the property of Great Britain and the United Provinces; the only modern nations who had established their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vast discoveries of the Spaniards and Portugeze, had given them, indeed, an exclusive possession of those treasures and productions that seemed to promise them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it: but these nations, intoxicated as they were with the love of gold and the idea of conquest, had never in the least suspected that their possessions in the New World could support their power in the Old. The English and Dutch went into the contrary extreme; building their opinions upon the system of the influence they supposed America must necessarily give to Europe. A system which they not only misapplied, but carried to excess.

THESE two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconsiderable

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able ones, had, from the earliest period, discovered the true principles of commerce, and pursued them with greater perseverance than might have been expected from the different situations they had been engaged in. Accidental circumstances having at first animated the industry of the poorest of these nations, she found herself very quickly equalled by her rival power, whose genius was more lively, and whose resources were much greater. The war, occasioned by a spirit of industry, and excited by jealousy, soon degenerated into fierce, obstinate, and bloody engagements. These were not merely such hostilities as are carried on between two different people; they resembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man against another. The necessity they were under of uniting, in order to check and restrain the power of France, suspended these hostilities. The success they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and decisive, revived their former animosity. From the apprehension they were under, that each state was labouring for the aggrandizement of the other, they entirely neglected the invasion of America. Queen Anne, at length, availing herself of a favourable opportunity for concluding a separate peace, procured such advantageous terms, as gave the English a great superiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time, England became of the greatest importance in the political system of Europe, and Holland was totally disregarded.

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Remarkable  
activity that  
prevailed in  
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THE years succeeding the peace of Utrecht revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a sufficient state of tranquillity, if the Europeans did not disturb it's peace, by carrying their arms and their dissensions into every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies. The harvest of the husbandman was not laid waste. The sailor ventured to sail in every sea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more saw their children forced from them, to lavish their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch, or an ambitious minister. Nations did no longer unite to gratify the passions of their sovereigns. For some time, man lived together as brethren, as much, at least, as the pride of princes, and the avidity of the people would allow.

ALTHOUGH this general happiness was to be attributed to those who held the reins of government, yet the improvement of reason contributed, in some degree, to produce it. Philosophy then began to lay open and recommend the sentiments of benevolence. The writings of some philosophers had been made public, or dispersed among the people, and contributed to polish and refine their manners. The spirit of moderation had inspired men with the love of the more useful and pleasing arts of life, and abated, at least, the desire they till then had of destroying one another. The thirst of blood seemed to be assuaged, and all nations, with the assistance of the discoveries they had made, ardently set about the

the improvement of their population, agriculture, and manufactures.

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THIS spirit of activity exerted itself principally in the Caribbee Islands. The states upon the continent can subsist, and even flourish, when the rage of war is kindled in their neighbourhood and on their frontiers; because the principal object of their attention is the culture of their lands, their manufactures, their subsistence and internal consumptions. This is not the case with regard to those settlements which different nations have formed in the Great Archipelago of America. In these, life and property are equally precarious. None of the necessaries of life are the natural produce of the climate. Wearing apparel, and the instruments of husbandry, are not even made in the country. All their commodities are intended for exportation. Nothing but an easy and safe communication with Africa, with the northern coasts of the New World, but principally with Europe, can procure to these islands that free circulation of the necessaries of life they receive, and of those superfluities they give in exchange. The more the colonists had suffered from the effects of that long and dreadful commotion that had throw'n every thing into confusion, the greater was their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the losses their fortunes had sustained. The very hopes entertained that the general weakness would insure a lasting tranquillity, encouraged the most cautious merchants to supply the colonists with goods in advance; a circumstance that contributed greatly to quicken the progress they made, which,



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The islands  
of America  
are the  
cause of the  
war in  
1739.  
Events in  
that war,  
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which, notwithstanding all their care and attention, would otherwise have been very slow. These assistances insured as well as increased the prosperity of the islands, till a storm, that had been a long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739, and disturbed the peace of the world.

THE English colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spanish settlements in the New World, which custom had long made them consider as lawful. The court of Madrid, becoming better acquainted with its interests, concerted measures to put a stop to, or at least to check, this intercourse. The plan might possibly be prudent; but it was necessary it should be carried into execution with equity. If the ships that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only seized upon those vessels that were concerned in it, this measure would have deserved commendation. But the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and perhaps, too a spirit of revenge, incited them to stop, under the pretence of their carrying on a contraband trade, many ships which in reality had a legal destination.

ENGLAND, whose security, power and glory is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently suffer even her usurpations to be restrained; but was highly incensed when she found that these hostilities were carried to an excess inconsistent with the law of nations. In London, and in the house of parliament, general complaints were made against the authors of them, and invectives against the minister who suffered them. Walpole,

who

who had long ruled Great Britain, and whose character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spanish council which shewed less spirit as the storm increased, concerted together terms of reconciliation. Those fixed upon, and signed at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by it's interests, it's resentments, and by party spirit, and especially by the number of political writings that were constantly published on the subject.

THE sovereign of any country, who forbids the liberty of discussing publicly matters of administration, and politics, gives an authentic attestation of his propensity to tyranny, and of the impropriety of his measures. It is just as if he were to say to the people: "I know full as well as you do, that what I have determined upon is contrary to your liberty, your prerogatives, your interest, your tranquillity, and your happiness; but I do not chuse that you should murmur at it. I will never suffer you to be enlightened, because it is convenient to me that you should remain in that state of stupidity, which will prevent you from discerning my caprices, my vanity, my extravagant dissipations, my ostentation, the depredations of my courtiers and of my favourites, my ruinous amusements, and my still more ruinous passions, from the public good, which never was, is not, nor ever will be, as far as depends upon me and my successors, any thing more than a decent pretence. Every thing I do is well done, you may either believe or not, as you choose, but  
" you

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“ you must be silent. I will prove to you, by  
 “ all the most extravagant and atrocious mea-  
 “ sures, that I reign for myself alone, and neither  
 “ by you, nor for you. And if any one of you  
 “ should be rash enough to contradict me, let  
 “ him perish in the obscurity of a dungeon, or  
 “ let him be strangled, that he may for ever be  
 “ deprived of the powers of committing a simi-  
 “ lar act of indiscretion; for such is my will and  
 “ pleasure.” In consequence of such declarati-  
 ons, a man of genius must be either silent or be put  
 to death; and a nation must be kept in a state of  
 barbarism, with respect to their religion, their laws,  
 their morals, and their government, and in the ig-  
 norance of the most important things relative to  
 their real interests, to their power, to their trade,  
 to their splendour, and to their felicity; while all  
 the nations around are improving themselves by the  
 daring efforts, and the concurrence of numbers of  
 enlightened men, whose views are directed to  
 those objects alone that are really worthy of their  
 attention. The reasoning of an administration,  
 which prohibits information, is defective in every  
 particular; the progress of improvement is not to  
 be stopt, nor even to be checked, without manifest  
 disadvantage. Prohibition hath no other effect  
 than to irritate men, and to inspire them with an  
 idea of rebellion, and to give to all their writings  
 a libellous tendency. It is doing too much ho-  
 nour to innocent subjects, to be alarmed at a  
 few pages of writing, when two hundred thousand  
 assassins are ready to execute the orders of go-  
 vernment.

ENGLAND

ENGLAND teems daily with numberless productions of the press, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among these writings some are judicious, written by men of understanding, or citizens well informed and zealous for the public good. Their advice contributes to discover to the public their true interests, and to assist the operations of government. Few useful regulations of internal œconomy are adopted in the state, that have not first been pointed out, modelled, or improved in some of these writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of such an advantage.

BUT it may be said, that among the few sensible men who serve to enlighten their country, numbers are to be met with, who either from a disgust to those in power, or from a desire of falling in with the taste of the people, or from some personal motives, delight in fomenting a spirit of dissention and discontent. The means generally made use of for this purpose, are to heighten the pretensions of their country beyond their just and legal bounds, and to make the people consider the smallest precautions taken by other powers for the preservation of their possessions, as visible incroachments. These exaggerations, equally partial and false, establish prejudices, the effects of which occasion the nation to be constantly at war with it's neighbours. If government, from a desire of preserving the balance of justice between itself and other powers, should refuse to yield to popular prejudices,



judices, it finds itself, at length, compelled to  
'it.'

THE liberty of the press is undoubtedly attended with these inconveniencies; but they are so trifling, and so transient, when compared with the advantages resulting from it, that they do not deserve our notice. The question is reduced to this: *Is it better that a people should be in a perpetual state of stupidity, than that they should be sometimes turbulent?* Sovereigns, if ye mean to be wicked, suffer your people to write; you will find men corrupt enough to serve you according to your evil desires; and who will improve you in the art of a Tiberius. If ye mean to be good, permit them also to write; you will find some honest men who will improve you in the art of a Trajan. How many things are ye still ignorant of, before ye can become great, either in good or in evil.

THE mob of London, the most contemptible of any in the universe, as the people of England considered in a political view, are the first people in the world; abetted by twenty thousand young men, the sons of distinguished merchants, beset the parliament house with clamours and threats, and influence it's deliberations. Such tumults are frequently excited by a party in the parliament itself. These despicable men, once roused, revile the most respectable citizen, who hath incurred their displeasure, and been rendered suspicious to them: they set fire to his house, and scandalously insult the most sacred characters. The tumult can

never

never be appeased, unless they force the ministry to yield to their fury. This indirect, though continual influence of commerce upon the public measures, was, perhaps, never so sensibly felt as at the period we are speaking of.

ENGLAND began the war with much superior advantages. She had a great number of sailors on foot. Her magazines were filled with warlike stores, and her dock-yards were in the most flourishing condition. Her fleets were all manned and ready for service, and commanded by experienced officers, who waited only for orders to set sail, and to spread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the world. Walpole, by neglecting such great advantages, must not be censured as having betrayed his country. In this particular he is above suspicion, since he was never even accused of corruption, in a country where such charges have been often made without being believed. His conduct, however, was not entirely irreproachable. The apprehension he was under of involving himself in difficulties that might endanger his administration; the necessity he found of applying those treasures in military operations, that he had amassed to bribe and secure to himself a party, joined to that of imposing new taxes, which must necessarily raise to the highest degree the aversion that had been entertained both for his person and principles: all these, and some other circumstances, occasioned an irresolution in his conduct that was attended with the most fatal consequences. He lost time, which is of the utmost importance

importance in every expedition, but particularly decisive in all naval operations.

THE fleet that Vernon commanded, after having destroyed Porto-Bello, was unsuccessful at Carthagena, rather from the badness of the climate, and the misunderstanding and inexperience of the officers, than from the valour of the garrison. Anson's fleet was lost at the doubling of Cape Horn, which some months sooner might have been performed without danger. If we were to judge of what he might have done with his whole Squadron, from what he actually performed with a single ship, it is not improbable but that he would at least have shaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South Sea. A settlement that was attempted in the island of Cuba was not prosperous. Those who intended building a city there, all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-eight days, was forced to raise the siege of fort St. Austin in Florida, vigorously defended by Manuel Montiano, who had been allowed time enough to prepare himself against the attack.

THOUGH the first efforts of the English against Spanish America were not successful, yet the alarm was not appeased. The navy, the character, and government of the English, were three great resources they had still left, sufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with those of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animatad the minds of such as were overwhelmed with fear.

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Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the emperor Charles the VIth had kindled in Europe an obstinate war, in which the British troops were detained, to support an interest that was extremely doubtful. The hostilities, commenced in distant countries with such great preparations, terminated at last insensibly in a few piracies, that were committed on both sides. The most remarkable event that happened at that time, was the taking of Cape-Breton, which exposed the fishery, commerce, and colonies of France, to the greatest dangers. This valuable possession was restored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up, was not less the object of censure.

THE French, ever influenced by a spirit of chivalry, that hath so long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the sacrifice of their lives sufficiently compensated, if it hath contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to say, when they have compelled their prince to the necessity of governing them with less attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the same as it was before the war, they then think their honour is lost. This rage for conquest, excusable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones should never be reproached with, threw disgrace on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored to Austria all the places that had been taken from her. The nation, too trifling and capricious to attend to political discussions, could not be convinced, that forming any kind of establishment for the In-



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fant Don Philip, an alliance with Spain was effectually secured; that she herself was thereby engaged to adjust, with the house of Austria, some interests of the greatest importance; that by becoming guarantees to the king of Prussia for Silesia, two rival powers would, in consequence of such an arrangement, be formed in Germany; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries: that by restoring Friburg, and those towns in Flanders that had been destroyed, they would be easily retaken, if war should again be declared and carried on with vigour: besides, that the number of land forces might always be very easily diminished of fifty-thousand men, and the saving which such a reduction would produce, might and ought to have been employed in increasing the navy.

It, therefore, the French nation had not even been obliged to attend to the management of its affairs at home, which were then in a very alarming state; if her credit and commerce had not been entirely ruined; if some of her most considerable provinces had not been in the greatest distress; if she had not lost the key of Canada; if her colonies had not been threatened with certain and immediate invasion; if her navy had not been so entirely destroyed, as scarcely to have a ship left to send into the New World; and if Spain had not been upon the point of concluding a separate treaty with England: independent of all these circumstances, yet the peace, that was then made, would have deserved the approbation of the most sensible and judicious men.

THE ease with which Marshal Saxe could penetrate into the internal provinces of the Netherlands, was an object that particularly attracted the French. It will readily be allowed, that nothing seemed impossible to the victorious arms of Lewis XV.; but it may be thought paradoxical to assert, that the English were extremely desirous of seeing the Dutch subdued. If the republic, which could not possibly separate itself from it's allies, had been conquered, it's inhabitants, filled as they were with ancient as well as present prejudices against the government, laws, manners and religion of their conqueror, would hardly have submitted to his dominion. Would they not certainly have conveyed their people, their stock, and their industry to Great Britain? And can there be the least doubt whether such considerable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the English, than an alliance with the Dutch?

To this observation let us venture to add another, which though not attended to before, will, perhaps, not seem less evident. The court of Vienna hath been thought either very fortunate, or very skilful, in having been able, by the means of negotiations, to wrest out of the hands of the French those places which had been taken from them during the war. But would they not have been more fortunate, or more skilful, had they suffered their enemy to keep part of the conquests they had obtained? The period is now passed, when the house of Austria was equal, or perhaps superior in strength to the house of

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Bourbon. Policy, therefore, should have engaged her to interest other powers in her fortune, even from the losses she had sustained. This might have been effected by sacrificing something, apparently, at least, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increasing power of this monarchy, which is naturally an object of hatred, envy and fear, would have renewed that spirit of animosity that had been swor'n against Lewis XIV.; and more formidable leagues would necessarily have been formed in consequence of such sentiments. This general disposition of the people was more likely to have recovered the greatness of the new house of Austria, than the re-acquisition of a distant and limited territory, always open to an attack.

It is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary who managed the negociation, as well as the minister who directed it, would have seen through the artifice. We do not even scruple to assert, that neither of these statesmen had any view of extending the French dominions. But would they have found the same penetration to unravel political designs in the council, to which they were responsible for their conduct? This is a point we cannot presume to determine. All governments are generally inclined to extend their territories; and that of France is, from it's constitution, equally so.

BUT whatever truth there may be in these reflections, it must be allowed, that the expectations of the two French ministers, who settled the peace, were disappointed. The principal object they had in view was the preservation of the colonies, that

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had been threatened by the enemy. But as soon as the danger was over, this unbounded source of opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a large body of troops, retained in her pay a great part of Germany, and acted in the same manner as if another Charles V. had threatened her frontiers, or another Philip II. could have throw'n the internal parts of the kingdom into confusion by his intrigues. She was not sensible that her superiority upon the continent was acknowledged, that no single power could venture to attack her; and that the event of the last war, and the arrangements settled by the last peace, had rendered the union of several powers against her impossible. A number of apprehensions, equally weak and trifling, disturbed her tranquillity. Her prejudices prevented her from perceiving that she had only one enemy really deserving her attention, and that this enemy could only be restrained by a considerable fleet.

THE English, more inclined to envy the prosperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not only desirous of becoming rich, but of being exclusively so. Their ambition is gain, as that of the Romans was empire. They do not properly seek to extend their dominion, but their colonies. Commerce is the sole object of all the wars they are engaged in, and the desire of engrossing it all to themselves, hath made them perform many great actions, and commit the most flagrant acts of injustice, and obliges them to persevere in the same conduct. Will the nations never be tired of that species of tyranny which sets them at



defiance, and degrades them? Will they perpetually continue in that state of weakness, which compels them to submit to a despotism they would be very desirous of annihilating? If they should ever form an alliance among themselves, how could one single power be able to resist them, unless destiny were always in it's favour, which it would be very imprudent to depend upon? Who is it that hath insured eternal prosperity to the English? and if it could be insured to them, would it not be too dearly purchased by the loss of a tranquillity which they could never enjoy? and would they not be too severely punished for it, by the alarms of a spirit of jealousy, which ever obliges them to keep an anxious and watchful eye upon the slightest movements of the other powers? Is it very glorious; is it very pleasing; is it very advantageous; and is it very safe, for one nation to reign in the midst of others, as a Sultan in the midst of his slaves? Will a dangerous increase of outward enmity be sufficiently compensated by the baneful increase of inward opulence? Englishmen, avidity knows no bounds; but patience hath it's end, which is almost always fatal to those who urge it to that extreme. But the passion for trade exerts such influence over you, that even your philosophers are governed by it. The celebrated Mr. Boyle used to say, that it would be a commendable action to preach Christianity to the savages; because, were they to know only so much of it as would convince them of their obligation to wear clothes,

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clothes, it would prove of great service to the English manufactures.

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America  
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A SYSTEM of this nature, which the English have scarce ever lost sight of, discovered itself more openly in 1755, than it had ever done before. The rapid improvements made in the French colonies surprised every attentive mind, and awakened the jealousy of the English. Ashamed, however, to let it appear at first, they concealed it for some time under mysterious disguises; and a people who have pride or modesty enough to term negotiations the *artillery of their enemies*, did not scruple to employ all the windings and artifices of the most insidious policy.

FRANCE, alarmed at the confused state of her finances, intimidated by the small number of her ships, and the inexperience of her admirals; seduced by a love of ease, pleasure and tranquillity, favoured the attempts that were made to deceive her. In vain did some able statesmen continually urge, that Great Britain was and ought to be desirous of a war; and that she was compelled to begin it, before the naval establishment of her rival had attained to the same degree of perfection as her trading navy. These causes of apprehension seemed absurd in a country where trade had been hitherto carried on by a spirit of imitation only; where it had been shackled by every species of restraint, and always sacrificed to finance; where it had never met with any real encouragement, and where men knew not, perhaps, that they were in possession of the most valuable and richest commerce in the world. A nation, that was in-

**B. O. O. K.** <sup>X.</sup>debted to nature for a most excellent soil; to chance for her colonies; to the vivacity and pliancy of her disposition, for a taste in those arts which vary and increase the enjoyments of life; to her conquests and her literary merit, and even to the dispersion of the Protestants she had unfortunately lost, for the desire excited in other countries of imitating her: this nation, that would be too happy, were she permitted to enjoy her happiness, would not perceive that she might be deprived of some of these advantages, and insensibly sell a sacrifice to those arts employed to lull her into security. When the English thought there was no further occasion to dissemble, they commenced hostilities, without having previously paid any attention to those formalities that are in use among civilized people.

DID the nation, which is reckoned so proud, so humane, and so prudent, reflect upon what was doing? It reduced the most sacred conventions of nations among themselves, to the artifices of a perfidious policy; it freed them from the common tie that connects them, by discarding the chimerical idea of the right of nations. Did these people perceive, that they were fixing a constant state of war; that they were making peace a time of apprehension only; that they were introducing on the globe nothing but a false and deceitful security; that sovereigns were becoming so many wolves, ready to devour each other; that the empire of discord was becoming unbounded; that the most cruel and most just reprisals were authorized; and that

arms were no longer to be laid aside? At that time there was a half Themistocles in the ministry; but there was not one Aristides in all Great Britain; since, far from exclaiming, in imitation of the Athenians, who were not themselves the most scrupulous men among the Greeks: *The thing is useful, but it is not honest; let it be mentioned no more:* the English, on the contrary, congratulated themselves upon an ignominious act, against which the voice of all Europe was raised with indignation. Acts of hostility, without a declaration of war, when there is even no treaty of peace subsisting, is the proceeding of barbarians. Hostilities, against the faith of treaties, but preceded by a declaration of war, by what pretence soever it may be palliated, would be a disgusting act of injustice, if the habit of it had not been frequent, and if the shame of it did not light upon almost all the powers. Hostilities, without a declaration of war, against a neighbouring people, who are quietly reposing themselves upon the faith of treaties, upon the right of nations, upon a reciprocal intercourse of good-will, upon civilized manners, upon the same God, upon the same worship, upon the reciprocal residence and protection granted to the citizens of both nations in their respective countries; such hostilities are a crime, which, in every society, would be treated as murder on the highway; and if there were any express code against it, as there is a tacit one, formed and subscribed to between all nations, we should then read the following sentence:

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LET US ALL UNITE AGAINST THE TRAITOR, AND LET HIM BE EXTERMINATED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH. The nation that commits such a crime, pursues it's interest with unbounded and shameless jealousy; it shews that it is destitute of equity and honour; that it despises equally the judgment of the present time, and the censure of posterity; and that it hath more regard for it's existence among nations, than for the colours it will be painted in, in their history. If it be the strongest, it is a mean tyrant; it is a lion, which debases itself to act the abject part of a fox. If it be the weakest, and be apprehensive for itself, it may, perhaps, be less odious, but it is equally base. How much more noble, and how much more advantageous, was the custom of the Roman people! Let us open, as they did, the gates of our temples; let an ambassador be sent to the enemy's frontiers, and there let him declare war, by shaking the skirts of his garments, at the sound of the trumpet of the herald that attends him. Let us not massacre an enemy that sleeps. If we dip our hand into the blood of him who thinks himself our friend, the stain of it will never be wiped off. It will always call to mind the Macbeth of the poet.

THOUGH a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which seem to be bound by no ties as soon as they intend to massacre one another; yet it is very evident, that the British ministry were more than doubtful of the injustice of their conduct. The timidity of their measures, the perplexity of their operations, the prevaricating

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ating modes of justification they adopted, and the influence they in vain exerted to make parliament approve so scandalous a violation; these, with several other circumstances, plainly discovered the guilt of their proceeding. If those weak ministers of so great a power had been as bold in committing crimes, as they appeared regardless of the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the most extensive nature. When they unjustly gave orders to attack all the French ships upon the northern coast of America, they would have extended these orders to every sea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any resistance, would have been the necessary consequence of such a strong confederacy. It's fall would have intimidated all other nations, and wherever the English flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A success so remarkable and decisive would have made the multitude overlook the violation of public right, would have justified it to the political world, and the remonstrances of the wise would have been lost in the clamours of the ignorant and ambitious.

A TIMID, but equally unjustifiable conduct, was attended with very contrary effects. The council of George II. was hated, as well as despised, over all Europe; and the events corresponded to these sentiments. France, though unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, gained considerable advantages by sea, took Miqrca, and threatened London itself. Her rival  
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The beginning of the war is unfavourable to the English.

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was then sensible of the truth of what men of understanding had long since observed in England, that the French united the greatest contrarieties in their character; that they blended virtues and vices, marks of weakness and strength that had always been thought inconsistent with each other; that they were brave, though effeminate; equally addicted to pleasure and glory; serious in trifles, and trifling in matters of importance; ever disposed to war, and ready to attack: in a word, mere children, suffering themselves, as the Athenians of old, to be disquieted and moved to anger for real or imaginary interests; fond of enterprise and action, ready to follow any guide, and comforted in the greatest misfortunes with the most trifling success. The English, who, according to a vulgar, though strong expression of Swift's, are *always in the cellar or in the garret*, and know no medium, began then to be too much afraid of a nation that they had unjustly despised. A spirit of despondency succeeded to that of presumption.

THE nation, corrupted by the too great confidence it had placed in its opulence; humbled by the introduction of foreign troops, and by the moral character and inability of its governors; weakened too by the collision of factions, which keep up an exertion of strength among a free people in times of peace, but which destroy their power in times of war: the nation, disgraced, astonished, and uncertain what measures to pursue; equally sensible of the distresses it had already been exposed to, as of those it foresaw,

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was incapable of exerting itself to avenge the one, or prevent the other. All zeal for the common cause was confined to the granting of immense supplies. That the coward is sooner disposed to part with his money than the brave man, in order to ward off danger; and that the present critical situation of affairs required them not to consider who should pay, but who should stand forward to fight; these were truths, which, at that time, seemed to have been forgotten.

THE French, on their part, were dazzled with some instances of success that were of no consequence. Presuming, that the surprise their enemies had been throw'n into, was a proof of their weakness, they involved themselves further than was consistent with their interest, in the disturbances which then began to divide the German powers.

A SYSTEM, which, if unsuccessful, must have been attended with the greatest disgrace, and if fortunate, must have been destructive in the end, served to confound them. Their levity made them forget, that a few months before they had applauded the wise and enlightened statesman, who, being desirous to avoid a land war, which some ministers were willing to enter into, from their despairing of success at sea, had, with the vivacity and confidence peculiar to genius, addressed himself to them in the following words: *Gentlemen, said he, let us all, who are here present in council, go out, with torches in our hands, and set fire to all our ships, if they are useless to our defence, and are only conducive to make our enemies insult us.* This political



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political infatuation threw them into the greatest difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed by military faults. The management of the army was subjected to the intrigues of the court. A series of bad success was the consequence of a perpetual change of commanders. This light and superficial nation did not perceive, that even supposing, what indeed was impossible, that all those who were successively intrusted with the direction of the military operations, had really been men of abilities, yet they could not contend with advantage against a man of genius, assisted by one of distinguished capacity. Misfortunes made no alteration in the plan that had been formed, and the changes of generals were endless.

While the French were thus deceived, the English, from a spirit of dejection, were inflamed with the utmost resentment: they changed a minister who had justly excited general dissatisfaction, and placed at the head of affairs a man who was equally an enemy to timid measures, to the royal prerogative, and to France. Although this choice was the consequence of that spirit of party which causes the greatest revolutions in England, yet it was such as the circumstances of the times required. William Pitt, had a soul formed for great designs; was distinguished by a species of eloquence that never failed to captivate his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterprising. He was ambitious to make his country rise superior to all others, and at the same time to raise his own fame. His enthusiasm fired a nation, which will always be inspired by a love of liberty. The  
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admiral who had suffered Minorca to be taken, was arrested, throw'n into prison, accused, tried, and sentenced to death. Neither his rank, abilities, family, nor friends, could protect him from the rigour of the law. His own ship was fixed upon as the spot where the sentence passed upon him was to be put in execution. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was struck with astonishment, blended with admiration and horror. It recalled the memory of the ancient republics. The death of Byng, whether guilty or not, proclaimed in the most alarming manner to those who were employed by the nation, what fate they must expect, if they betrayed the confidence reposed in them. Every man said to himself, in the instant of battle: It is on this field I must die, rather than with infamy on a scaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accused of cowardice, was productive of a spirit of heroism.

THIS system of holding out an example of terror to subdue the impressions of fear, was further strengthened by an emulation, that seemed to promise the revival of public spirit. Dissipation, pleasure, indolence, and often vice and a corruption of manners, occasion warm and frequent connections in most kingdoms of Europe. The English have less intercourse and connection with each other; they have, perhaps, less taste for social life than other nations; but the idea of any project that may be serviceable to the state, immediately unites them, and they seem, as it were, animated by one soul. All ranks, parties, and sects, contribute to insure it's success, and with  
such

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such liberality as cannot be paralleled in those places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail.

AND, in fact, why should we be concerned for the glory of a nation, when we can expect no other return for the sacrifices we make, than an increase of misery; when victories and defeats are equally fatal; victories, by giving rise to taxes to pave the way for them; and defeats, by occasioning taxes to repair them? If there were not some little remains of honour subsisting in us, in spite of all the efforts that are made use of to stifle it, and which proves, that under vexations of every kind, the people still retain some feeling for the disgrace of the nation, they would be equally affected with it's prosperity or it's misfortunes. Will they experience better treatment, whether the sovereign be victorious or conquered; whether he acquire or lose a province; whether trade should fall or prosper? The zeal of the English is more remarkably distinguished, when the nation hath placed an implicit confidence in the minister who hath the direction of public measures. As soon as Mr. Pitt was made prime minister, a marine society was established, which, perceiving that there appeared a remissness in general to enter into the sea service, and disapproving the custom of pressing men into it, invited the children of the poorest class in the three kingdoms to become ship boys, and their fathers sailors. They undertook to pay the expences of their voyage; to take care of them in sickness; to feed, clothe, and furnish them with every

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every thing necessary to preserve their health during the time they were to be at sea. The king, moved by this instance of patriotism, gave them 22,500 livres \*; the prince of Wales 9,000 livres †, and the princess of Wales 4,500 ‡. The actors of the different theatres, whose abilities have not been treated with contempt by this enlightened nation, acted their best plays for the increase of so respectable an establishment. The theatres were never so much crowded as on this occasion. A hundred of these ship boys, and a hundred of the sailors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be holden sacred, appeared upon the stage; a decoration this surely, not inferior to that arising from the multitude of lights, the elegance of dress, and the brilliancy of jewels.

THIS public zeal and attachment to the interests of the nation, animated the minds of all the English, and the effects of it were displayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coasts of their enemies, beat them every where by sea; intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Westphalia. They drove them out of North-America, Africa, and the East-Indies. Till Mr. Pitt became minister, all the expeditions of the nation, made in distant countries, had been unsuccessful, and must necessarily have been so, because they had been ill-concerted. He, on the contrary, planned such prudent and useful designs; his preparations were conducted with so much foresight and dispatch;

The English are roused from their lethargy, and seize the French and Spanish islands. Account of the author of these successes.

\* 937 l. 10 s.

† 375 l.

‡ 187 l. 10 s.



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his means were so well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain; he made such a prudent choice of the persons whom he intrusted with his designs; he established such harmony between the land and sea forces, and raised the spirits of the English to such a height, that his whole administration was a series of conquests. His mind, still superior to his glory, made him despise the idle clamours of those, who censured what they called his profusions. He used to say with Philip, father of Alexander the Great, *That victory was to be purchased by money, and that money must not be spared at the expence of victory.*

By such a conduct, and such principles, Mr Pitt had at all times, and in all places, triumphed over the French. He pursued them to their most valuable islands, even to their sugar colonies. These possessions, so justly prized for their riches were not, however, better secured. The fortifications that were erected there, were constructed without judgment, and were falling to decay. These ruins were equally destitute of defenders of arms, and of ammunition. Ever since the beginning of hostilities, all intercourse between these great settlements and the mother-country had been at an end. They could neither receive subsistence from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings necessary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The masters and the slaves, equally destitute of the necessaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle destined for the labours of husbandry. If any rapacious navigators ever reached them,

was through so many dangers, that the colonists were obliged to pay for what they bought of these traders at a very advanced price, and to give them in exchange whatever they consented to take from them at the lowest. Though the colonists did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their assistance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachments to their mother-country would induce them to make a vigorous defence against an enemy that might put an end to their distresses.

In this situation of affairs, ten ships of the line, some bomb-ketches and frigates, with five thousand land-forces, sailed from England, and arrived at Guadalupe. They appeared before the town on the 22d of January 1759, and the next day bombarded the town of Basse-Terre. If the besiegers had know'n how to take advantage of the terror they had spread, the island would have made a very short resistance: but the slowness, timidity, and irresolution of their operations afforded the garrison and the inhabitants leisure to fortify themselves in a pass that was only at the distance of two leagues from the place. From this spot they stopped the progress of the enemy, who were equally distressed from the heat of the climate and the want of provisions. The English, despairing of making themselves masters of the colony on this side, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, know'n by the name of Grande-Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made still less resistance than that of Basse-Terre, that had surrendered in four and twenty hours.

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The conquerors were again guilty of the error they had before fallen into, and suffered the same inconveniencies from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who succeeded to the command at the death of Hopson, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-embarked his soldiers, who successively attacked the houses and villages upon the coasts. The ravages they committed, obliged the colonists to submit. The whole island, after three months defence, surrendered on the 21st day of April, upon very honourable terms of capitulation.

THE troops that had obtained this victory did not engage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great Britain revived a design that had been too hastily given up; but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, under the command of general Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line commanded by admiral Rodney, the first sent from North America, and the latter from Europe, appeared before the capital of the island. The landing of the troops the next day was soon effected, without difficulty and without loss. To take possession of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, seemed to be a matter not so easily accomplished. These obstacles, however, were after some warm engagements surmounted, and the place that would soon have been reduced to ashes by the bombs, capitulated on

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the 9th of February; and the whole colony did the same on the 13th. It is probable that the prosperity of Guadalupe under the British government, contributed to bring about this general surrender; which might, and ought to have been delayed longer. Granada and the other Leeward Islands, whether subject to France, or which, though peopled by Frenchmen, were neutral, surrendered themselves, without making any resistance.

EVEN St. Domingo, the only possession the French still retained in the Archipelago of America, was likely to fall into the hands of the English; and it's loss seemed to be not far distant. If it had not even been know'n that this was the first conquest Great Britain would attempt, yet it could not be supposed that it would escape it's avidity. Would this ambitious nation have checked the career of it's own successes so far as to give up all thoughts of a conquest that would have completed it's prosperity? This was a point that seemed not to admit of a doubt. The colony was generally know'n to be entirely without any means of defence, either within or without, and therefore incapable of making the least resistance. It was so sensible of it's weakness, that it seemed disposed to surrender as soon as it should be summoned to do it.

THE court of Versailles was equally astonished and alarmed at the losses it had sustained, and at those it foresaw. It had expected such an obstinate resistance as would have been superior to every attack. The descendants of those brave ad-



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venturers, who had settled these colonies, seemed a rampart sufficient to repel all the forces of the British empire. They almost felt a secret satisfaction that the English were directing their efforts towards that quarter. The ministry had inspired the nation with the same confidence that possessed them, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to shew the least uneasiness.

It is an observation we may now be permitted to make, that events, which have once happened, will happen again. A people whose whole fortune consists in fields and pastures will if influenced by any degree of spirit, resolutely defend their possessions. The harvest of one year is the utmost they can lose, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not distress them to such a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The case is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of these colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the risque of having the labours of their whole lives destroyed, their slaves carried off, and all the hopes of the posterity either lost by fire or plunder: they will therefore always submit to the enemy. Though satisfied with the government under which they live, they are less attached to it's glory than to their own riches.

THE example of the first colonists, whose perseverance could not be shaken by the most vigorous attacks, does not affect the truth of this observation. The object of the war was then the acquisition of territory, and the expulsion of the inhabitants.

ants; at present, a war waged against a colony is directed only against the sovereign of it.

THE plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt, though he was not in the ministry when it was subdued. The resignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deserves to be considered by every one, who investigates the causes and effects of political revolutions. An historian, who ventures to write the transactions of his own age, hath seldom, it must be granted, sufficient lights to guide him. The councils of kings are so secret, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that surrounds them. Their ministers, faithful depositaries of the secrets they have been intrusted with, or interested to conceal them, explain themselves no further than is sufficient to mislead the curious inquirer, who wishes to discover them. Whatever penetration he may possess, in tracing the source and connection of events, he is at last reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be just, still he is ignorant that they are so, or cannot depend upon them; and this uncertainty is scarcely more satisfactory than a total ignorance. He must, therefore, wait till prudence and interest, freed from the restraint of silence, shall unfold the truth; in a word, 'till some valuable and original records be produced for public inspection, wherein the latent springs on which the destiny of nations hath depended, shall be discovered.

THESE reflections should suspend the inquiries of the man who wants only to attend to the progress of political intrigues. They are dissolved as

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soon as they are formed. We could only collect separate parts of them, which could not be brought together unless by conjecture, which might be the further distant from the truth, in proportion as more sagacity had been displayed in the forming of it. We should often be likely to fill up with some great view, or with some profound speculation, a vacancy which presents itself, from our ignorance of some witticism, of some frivolous caprice, of some trifling resentment, or of some childish emotion of jealousy; for these are the wonderful levers with which the earth hath so often been moved, and will still be moved hereafter. If it be then prudent to say nothing of the obscure causes of events, it is at least the time to speak of the character of those who have conducted them. We know what they were in their infancy, in their youth, in a more mature age, in their family and in society, in private life, and in public affairs. We know what their natural and acquired talents were; their ruling passions, their vices, their virtues, their inclinations and their aversions; their connections, their animosities, and their friendships; their personal and relative interests; the marks of favour or disgrace they have experienced; the means they have employed to obtain their high posts, and to maintain themselves in them; the conduct they have observed with regard to their protectors and their dependents; the projects they have conceived, and the manner in which they have executed them; the character of the men they have employed; the obstacles they have met with, and the

the manner in which they have surmounted them: in a word, we know the success they have had; the reward they have obtained in consequence of it; the punishment they have suffered when they have miscarried; the praise or blame bestowed upon them by the nation; the manner in which they have ended their career, and the reputation they have left behind them after death.

WE are desirous of penetrating into the soul of one of the greatest men of his age, and perhaps we can never do it at a more proper time. The most conspicuous actions only of a man's life are transmitted to posterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of a variety of simple and artless details, that enlighten the mind of an observer, who lived at the time they happened.

MR. PITT, after having rescued England from the kind of disgrace it had been exposed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of success that astonished all the world. Whether he foresaw this or not, he did not seem to be embarrassed with it, and resolved to carry it as far as he could. The moderation which so many statesmen had affected before him, seemed to him to be only pretence to conceal their weakness or their indolence. He thought that all states should exert their power to the utmost, and that there was no instance of one nation being able to become superior to another, and not effecting it. The parallel he drew between England and France confirmed him in his opinion. He perceived with uneasiness, that the power of England, founded upon a trade which



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which she might and would lose, was very inconsiderable, when compared with that of her rival; which nature, art, and particular circumstances had raised to such a degree of strength, under favourable administrations, as had made all Europe tremble. Sensible of this truth, he therefore determined to deprive France of her colonies, and to reduce her to that state, to which the freedom of the New World, sooner or later accomplished, will bring all nations that have formed settlements there.

THE means necessary to complete this project, which was so far advanced, appeared to him absolutely certain. While the imagination of weak minds took shadows for realities, the greatest difficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the nation, of which he was the idol, was sometimes alarmed at his vast and uncommon enterprises, he was not in the least disquieted about them; because, in his eyes, the multitude was like a torrent, the course of which he knew how to direct which way he would.

PERFECTLY indifferent with regard to fortune, he was still more so with regard to power. His successes had made his administration absolute. With the people he was a republican, with the nobles and the sovereign he was a despotic minister. To think differently from him, was a mark of being an enemy to the common cause.

He availed himself of the superiority he had gained, in order to excite the ardour of the people. Little influenced by that species of philosophy, which, divesting itself of the prejudices of

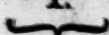
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national glory, to extend it's views to the welfare of all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of universal reason; he kept up a violent and savage spirit of enthusiasm, which he called, and, perhaps, believed to be a love of his country; but which was, in reality, nothing more than a strong aversion for the nation he wanted to oppress.

FRANCE was perhaps as much discouraged by this spirit of inveteracy, that constantly pursued her, as by the distresses she had undergone. The diminution, the exhausted state, or, to say the truth, the total ruin of her naval powers, afforded her a discouraging prospect for the future. The expectation that a fortunate success by land might occasion a change in the face of affairs, was merely imaginary. If one of their squadrons had destroyed one or several of those of her rival, the English would not have renounced any of their claims. This is one general rule; and another is, that whenever any power hath acquired a very determined superiority at sea, it can never lose it in the course of the war; more particularly, if that superiority can be traced from a distant cause, and especially if it proceed partly from the character of the nation. The superiority of one continent above another depends entirely on the abilities of a single man, and may be lost in a moment: on the contrary, superiority at sea, as it results from the vigilance and interest of each individual in the state, must always increase, particularly when it is encouraged by national constitution:

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constitution: a sudden invasion can only put a stop to it.

NOTHING but a general confederacy could have restored the balance of power; the impossibility of which Mr. Pitt plainly saw. He knew the restraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Russians, and the little regard that several of these powers paid to the interests of France. He was conscious also of the terror which the English forces had spread among them all, the mistrust they entertained of each other, and the apprehension that each of them must have, that they should be distressed before they could receive assistance.

THE affairs of Spain were particularly circumstanced. The ravages that laid waste the French colonies, and which every day increased, might easily extend to the settlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be sensible of the danger that threatened it, its usual indolence accompanied it with regard to these great objects. At length, upon a change of minister, a new system took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to extinguish the flame; but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous haughtiness. Mr. Pitt, having deliberately considered the extent of his power, answered every proposal that was made, in the following manner: *I will listen to them*, said he, *when you have taken the Tower of London sword in band*. This mode of expression might disgust, but it was imposing.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when the court of France thought herself obliged to make overtures of peace to that of Great Britain. Both courts were equally apprehensive, and with good reason, that Mr. Pitt would oppose them. He consented to enter into a negotiation; but the event shewed, as sensible politicians had conjectured, that his intention was not to continue it. His design was only to furnish himself with sufficient proofs of the engagements that the two branches of the house of Bourbon had entered into against Great Britain, that he might make them evident to his country. As soon as he had gained this intelligence, he broke off the negociation, and proposed declaring war against Spain. The superiority of the naval power of England above that of both these kingdoms, and the assurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inspired him with this confidence.

MR. PITT's system appeared, to distinguished politicians, the only important, and indeed, the only reasonable one. The English nation had contracted such a load of debt, that it could neither free itself from it, nor support it, without opening to itself new sources of wealth. Europe, tired out with the grievances Great Britain had made her submit to, waited impatiently for an opportunity to disable her oppressor from continuing them. The house of Bourbon could not but preserve a strong resentment for the injuries it had suffered, and for the losses it had sustained; it could not but make secret preparations, and gradually work up a spirit of revenge to which a combination



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combination of all it's forces might insure success. These motives obliged Great Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandize itself for it's support. This cruel necessity was not so sensibly felt by the council of George the Third as Mr. Pitt desired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weakness or of infatuation, perhaps of treachery; and he resigned his post, because he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

MAY we venture to form a conjecture? The English ministry plainly saw that there was no possibility of avoiding a fresh war; but equally tired out and disgraced by the power Mr. Pitt had assumed, they were desirous of restoring the spirit of equality which is the spring of a republican government. Despairing of being able to raise themselves to a level with a man so highly esteemed, or of making him stoop to them, they united their forces to effect his ruin. As open attacks would only have turned against themselves, they had recourse to more artful methods. They attempted to sour his temper; the natural fire of his character laid him open to such a snare and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt resigned his post through peevishness, he deserves to be censured for not having suppressed or mastered it. If he hoped by this expedient to humble his enemies, he shewed he had greater knowledge of affairs than of men. If, as he asserted, he resigned, because he would no longer be responsible for the measures he did not guide, we may be allowed to think that he was more strongly attached to his

own personal glory, than to the interests of his country. But whatever may have been the cause of his resignation, nothing but the blindest, most unjust, and most violent partiality can venture to assert, that his virtues and abilities were merely the effect of chance.

HOWEVER this may be, the first step the new ministry took, was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt; and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought necessary to declare war against Spain, and the West Indies were to be the scene of these new hostilities. Experience had already discouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards Cuba. Men of sense and understanding perceived that the taking of this island would not be attended with any apprehension of vengeance from the other colonies; that the empire of the Gulph of Mexico would be secured; that the enemy, whose riches arose principally from the amount of its customs, would be deprived of all their resources; that the whole commerce of the continent would be seized upon, and the inhabitants would chuse rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than to give up those commodities they had been used to receive from Europe; in a word, that the power of Spain would be so much reduced by this considerable loss, that it would be obliged to submit to any terms.

AGREEABLE to this idea, a fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about

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about a hundred and fifty transports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North America, set sail for the Havannah. To arrive at this formidable place, it was determined to pass through the old streight of Bahama, not so long in extent, though more dangerous, than the new one. The obstacles that were to be expected in this passage little know'n, and too little attended to, were successfully surmounted, in a manner worthy the reputation that admiral Pocock had acquired. On the 6th of July he arrived at the place of his destination; and the landing of the troops was effected without any opposition, at the distance of six leagues eastward of those dreadful fortifications that were to be taken.

THE operations by land, were not so well conducted as those by sea. If Albemarle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commission he was intrusted with, he would have begun his attack by the city. The single dry wall that covered it, could not have holden out four-and-twenty hours. It is probable, that the generals, the council, and the regency, who must infallibly have fallen into his hands by this success, which might so easily have been obtained, would have resolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would thus have prevented the fort from receiving any assistance or provisions that were supplied from the city during the siege, and have secured the most likely means to reduce it in a very short time.

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THE plan he pursued, of beginning his operations by the attack of the Moro, exposed him to great distresses. The water that was near him was unwholesome, and he found himself under a necessity of procuring some at three leagues distance from his camp. As the sloops that were sent for this purpose might be attacked, it was thought necessary to post a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Arosteguy, at a quarter of a league's distance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops, entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdrawn, or supported but by sea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

ALBEMARLE, who might have judged of the disposition of the enemy from their not molesting the troops posted at Arosteguy, should have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this step he would have been able almost to surround it; he would, most undoubtedly, have distressed it by famine, prevented all removal of the effects into the country, and opened a less dangerous communication with Arosteguy, than by the detachments he was constantly obliged to send, in order to support this advanced body of troops.

THE siege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The soldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with barrels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged for sacks of cotton, that were taken out of some merchant-ships arrived from Jamaica.



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This want of foresight occasioned the loss of a great number of men, always of great value, but more especially so in a climate, where diseases and fatigues cause so great a consumption of them.

THE English general, having lost the greatest part of his army, and finding the necessity, for want of troops, of reembarking in a few days, determined to attempt storming the castle; but a large and deep ditch, cut in the rock, was first to be passed; and no preparations had been made to fill it up.

If the faults of the English were very considerable, those of the Spaniards were still greater. Though apprized above a month before, that war had commenced between the two nations, they were not roused from their lethargy. The enemy was already upon their coasts, and they had made no provisions of balls of a proper size for their cannons, nor of cartridges; neither had they one single gun, or even a firelock fit to make use of.

THE great number of officers, of the land and sea service, who were at the Havannah, occasioned, during some days of the siege, a great uncertainty in the resolutions, that could not but be favourable to the besiegers.

THREE ships of war were sunk, to stop up the entrance into the port, which the enemy could not pass. The road into the harbour was by the means damaged, and three great ships lost to no purpose.

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THE most common prudence would have suggested, that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah should have been got ready to sail. They could not possibly be of any service in defending the place, and it was a matter of some consequence to save them. But this was neglected. Neither did the precaution occur of setting them on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE destruction of the body of English troops posted at Arosteguy, where they could not receive any assistance, might have been easily effected. This check would have put the besiegers to some difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their operations, and inspired the Spanish forces with some degree of confidence. But, far from making so easy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the English detachments, though composed entirely of infantry, and which might have been opposed by a regiment of dragoons, and a great number of militia, that were provided with horses.

THE communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was scarce ever interrupted, and yet none of those who had a share in the administration, ever thought of conveying the royal treasure into the inland parts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE last instance of neglect served to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been

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left a piece of rock, terminating in a point, and standing by itself. The English placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterscarp. A serjeant, with fifteen men, passed over them at one in the afternoon; and concealed themselves among some stones that had fallen down. They were followed by a company of grenadiers and some soldiers. When they had collected about a hundred men, in the space of an hour, they got upon the breach, under no apprehension of being discovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Velasco, indeed, informed of what had happened, hastened to save the place; but he was killed in coming up, and his death putting the Spanish troops that followed him into confusion, they surrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a centinel to observe the motions of the enemy lodged upon the ditch, determined this great event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into, for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole island. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itself, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five millions of silver, and other valuable effects, which fully indemnified them for the expences of the expedition.

Advantages  
procured to  
Great Britain  
in the  
islands by  
the peace.

THE loss of Cuba, the center of the power of Spain in the New World, made peace as necessary to the court of Madrid, as it could possibly be to that of Versailles, whose distresses were now

\* 1,875,000l.

brought

brought to the highest pitch. The English ministry, at that time, consented to a peace; but it seemed a matter of much difficulty to settle the conditions. The successes of Great Britain had been astonishing in North and South America. But, however ambitious she might be, she could not flatter herself with the hopes of retaining all the conquests she had made. It was reasonable to suppose that she would give up the possessions she had gained in North America, as the advantages she might expect from them were distant, inconsiderable, and uncertain; and that she would be content with reserving to herself the sugar colonies she had lately acquired, which the state of her finances seemed more particularly to require. The increase of her customs, that was a necessary consequence of such a system, would have procured her the best sinking fund that could have been imagined, and which must have been so much the more agreeable to the nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others very considerable. It would, in the first place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable, notwithstanding the faults it had committed, of it's richest branch of trade. Secondly, it would have contributed to weaken it, from it's being under a necessity of defending Canada; a colony, which, from the nature of it's situation, must be detrimental to a nation that had long neglected it's navy. Lastly, it would have kept New England in a closer and more absolute dependence on the mother-country,



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a part of America that would always want to be supported against a restless, active, and warlike neighbour.

BUT though the council of George III. should have thought it necessary to restore to their enemies a bad country of the continent, and to reserve the valuable islands, yet they would not, perhaps, have ventured to adopt so judicious a measure. In other countries the faults of the ministers are imputed only to themselves, or to their kings, who punish them for their misconduct. In England, the errors of administration are generally the errors of the nation, who insist upon obedience to their will, though guided by caprice.

THE English, who have complained of the terms of the last peace, when they have been shewn how far short they fell of the advantages they expected from them, had, however, in some measure, dictated those very terms themselves by the tenor of their complaints, either previous to or during the war. The Canadians had committed some outrages, and the savages many acts of cruelty in the English colonies. The peaceable inhabitants, terrified at the distresses they suffered, and more so at those they feared, had caused their clamours to be heard even in Europe. Their correspondents, interested to obtain them a speedy and powerful redress, had aggravated their complaints. Those writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumstance that can render the French odious, had loaded them with every species of invective. The people, exasperated

rated

rated by the report of the shocking scenes that were perpetually presented to it's imagination, wished to see a stop put to these barbarities.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the sugar colonies, satisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce, and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wishing the conquest of their neighbour's settlements, they rather dreaded it, considering it as destructive to themselves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are so much superior to those of the English, that no competition could possibly have taken place. Their allies were of the same opinion, and followed the example of their moderation.

THE consequence of so contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the sugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. Let us represent to ourselves the situation of an enlightened man, who is convinced, of the advantages of a project, which he is compelled to give up, by the mistaken notions of a deceived multitude, in order to adopt, in preference to it, some absurd schemes contrary to the general good, which will dishonour him if he should pursue them, or, which will expose him to danger, if he should refuse: let us represent him to ourselves, as employed by a sovereign, who will dismiss him, if his rebellious subjects should insist upon it; and who cannot afford him any protection, if they should carry their fury so far as to demand his life: let us view him divided, as he

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must be, between the mistaken vanity which attaches him to his post, and the laudable pride which makes him careful to preserve his reputation: let us behold him alone, retired in his closet, and deliberating upon the steps he should take, amidst the tumult and clamours of the populace, collected round his house, and threatening to set it on fire: for such is the alternative, which hath been experienced, and will always be experienced by those who guide the public affairs of a free country. There is scarce one single situation in the world, in which a propriety of conduct is not attended with inconveniences on both sides. It is the property of real courage to adapt itself to those several circumstances and situations, whatever may be the result; but such kind of courage is not often to be met with.

THE ministry, which, in England, can never support it's authority against the people, or, at least, cannot long maintain itself successfully against it's general odium, turned all their views towards North America, and found France and Spain readily disposed to adopt such a system. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the English all their former possessions, from the river St. Lawrence up to the Mississippi. Besides this, France ceded the islands of Granada and Tobago, and consented that the English should keep the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica that had been considered as neutral, provided that on her part, she might appropriate St. Lucia to herself. On these conditions, the conquerors restored to the allied powers all the conquests they had made in America.

FROM

FROM this time England lost the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of seizing all the avenues and making itself master of the sources of all the wealth of the New World. Mexico was in it's power, as the English only were in possession of the gulph that opens the way to it; this valuable continent must, therefore, soon have become their property. It might have been allured, either by the offers of an easier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: the Spaniards might have been invited to shake off the yoke of the mother-country, which only took up arms to distress it's colonies, and not to protect them; or the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enslaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and the English, more free and more equitable than other monarchial powers, could not but be benefited by rescuing the human race from the oppressions they suffered in the New World, and by removing the injuries this oppression hath brought on Europe in particular.

ALL those subjects, who are victims of the severity, exactions, oppression, and deceit of arbitrary governments; all those families that are ruined by the raising of soldiers, by the ravages of armies, by the loans for carrying on war, and by the infractions of peace; all men born to think and live as men, instead of obeying and becoming subject like brutes, would have gladly taken refuge in those countries. These, as well as a multitude of workmen without employment; of husbandmen

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The British ministry did not extend their views as far as the situation of things permitted.



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husbandmen without land; of men of science without any occupation; and numbers of distressed and unfortunate persons, would have flow'n into these regions, which require only just and civilized inhabitants to render them happy. Above all, the peasants of the north, slaves to the nobility, who trample upon them, would certainly have been invited there: those Russian peasants, who are employed as executioners to torture the human race, instead of cultivating and fertilizing the earth. Numbers of them would certainly have been lost in these transmigrations through extensive seas, into new climates; but this would have been an infinitely less evil than that of a tyranny, working by slow and artful means, and sacrificing so many people to the wills of a small number of men. In a word, the English would have been much more gloriously employed in supporting and favouring so happy a revolution, than in tormenting themselves in defence of a liberty, that excites the envy of all kings, and which they endeavour, by every method, to undermine and destroy.

THIS is a wish which, though founded on justice and humanity, is yet, alas! vain in itself, as it leaves nothing but regret in the mind of him that formed it. Must then the desires of the virtuous man for the prosperity of the world be for ever lost, while those of the ambitious and the extravagant are so often favoured by casual events?

SINCE war hath been the cause of so much evil, why does it not run through every species of calamity,

lamity, that it may, at length, tend to procure some good? But what hath been the consequence of the last war, one of those that hath been the most distressful to the human race? It hath occasioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe; and hath cost Europe alone above a million of it's inhabitants. Those who were not it's victims, are now distressed by it, and their posterity will long be oppressed under the weight of the enormous taxes it hath given rise to. The nation, whom victory attended in all parts, was ruined by it's triumphs. It's public debt, which, at the beginning of the war, did not exceed 1,617,087,060 livres \*, arose, at the conclusion of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres †, for which it must pay an interest of 111,577,490 livres ‡.

BUT it is time to quit the subject of war. Let us now proceed to consider by what means the nations, who have divided the great Archipelago of America, that hath been the origin of so many quarrels and negociations, and hath given rise to so many reflections, have been able to raise it to a degree of opulence, that may, without exaggeration, be considered as the first cause of all the great events that at present disturb the peace of the globe.

\* 67,378,627 l. 10 s.

† 138,750,000 l.

‡ 4,649,062 l. 1 s. 8 d.

## B O O K X I.

*The Europeans go into Africa to purchase slaves to cultivate the Caribbee Islands. The manner of conducting this species of commerce. Produce arising from the labour of the slaves.*

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The Europeans settled in the American Islands, procure cultivators from Africa.

WE have seen immense countries invaded and laid waste; their innocent and peaceable inhabitants either massacred or loaded with chains; a dreadful solitude established upon the ruins of a numerous population; ferocious usurpers destroying one another, and heaping their dead bodies upon those of their victims. What is to be the result of so many enormities? They will still be repeated, and they will be followed by one, which, though it may not produce so much bloodshed, will nevertheless be more shocking to humanity: this is the traffic of man, sold and purchased by his fellow-creature. The islands of America have first suggested the idea of this abominable trade, and we shall now see in what manner this misfortune hath been brought about.

CERTAIN restless fugitives, the greatest part of whom had either been disgraced by the laws of their country, or ruined by their excesses; in this state of desperation, formed a design of attacking







acking Spanish or Portuguese ships that were richly laden with the spoils of the New World. Some desert islands, whose situation insured success to these piracies, served at first for a place of rendezvous to these robbers, and soon became their country. Habituated to murder, they meditated the massacre of a plain and unsuspecting people, who had received and treated them with humanity; and the civilized nations, of which these free-booters were the refuse, adopted this infamous scheme without hesitation; which was immediately put in execution. It then became necessary to consider what advantages might accrue from so many enormities. Gold and silver, which were still looked upon as the sole valuable productions to be derived from America, had either never existed in several of these new acquisitions, or were no longer to be found there, in sufficient quantities to expect any considerable emoluments from working the mines. Certain speculative men, less blinded by their prejudices than the multitude generally are, imagined, that a soil and climate, so totally different from our's, might either furnish us with commodities to which we were strangers, or which we were obliged to purchase at an exorbitant price: they therefore determined to apply themselves to the culture of them. There were some obstacles, apparently insurmountable to the execution of this plan. The ancient inhabitants of the country were now entirely destroyed; and had they not been so, the weakness of their constitutions, their habit of ease and indolence, and their invincible aversion for labour, would scarce have rendered them fit instruments

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instruments to execute the designs of their oppressors. These barbarians too, born in a temperate climate, could not support the laborious works of agriculture under a burning and unwholesome sky. Self-interest, ever fruitful in expedients, suggested the plan of seeking cultivators in Africa, a country in which the abominable and inhuman custom of selling its inhabitants hath ever prevailed.

AFRICA is an immense region, connected to Asia only by a narrow neck of land of twenty leagues, called the Isthmus of Suez. This natural and political boundary must sooner or later be broken down by the ocean, from that tendency it is observed to have of forming gulphs and straits eastward. This peninsula, cut by the equator into two unequal parts, forms an irregular triangle, one of the sides of which fronts the east, the other the north, and the third the west.

Opinions  
concerning  
the eastern  
coast of  
Africa.

THE eastern side, which extends from Suez nearly as far as the Cape of Good Hope, is washed by the Red Sea and the ocean. The inland parts of the country are but little known, and what has been discovered of them, can neither excite the mercenary views of the trader, the curiosity of the traveller, nor the humanity of the philosopher. Even the missionaries, after having made some progress in these countries, especially in Abyssinia, totally discouraged by the treatment they met with, have abandoned these people to their inconstancy and perfidy. The coasts are in general only dreadful rocks, or a waste of dry and burning sand. Those portions, which are fit for cultivation, are parcelled

valued out among the natives of the country, the Arabs, the Portuguese, and the Dutch. Their commerce, which consists only in a little ivory or gold, and some slaves, is connected with that of the East Indies.

THE northern side, which extends from the Isthmus of Suez to the Straits of Gibraltar, is bounded by the Mediterranean. On this side, nine hundred leagues of coast are occupied by a country, which hath for several centuries been known by the name of Barbary; and by Egypt, which is under the yoke of the Ottoman empire.

Opinions  
concerning  
the northern  
coast of  
Africa, and  
of Egypt in  
particular.

THIS great province is bounded by the Red Sea on the East, by Nubia on the South, by the deserts of Barca, or by Lybia on the West, and on the North by the Mediterranean. It is about two hundred and twelve leagues long from North to South. A break of rocks, and a chain of mountains, running almost in the same direction, prevent it from being more than six or seven leagues broad as far as Cairo. From that capital to the sea the country describes a triangle, the basis of which is one hundred leagues. This triangle includes another, known by the name of Delta, and formed by two branches of the Nile, which empty themselves into the Mediterranean, one of them at the distance of a league from Rosetto, and the other of two from Damietta.

ALTHOUGH this be a burning region, yet the climate is in general healthy; the only infirmity peculiar to Egypt, is the too frequent loss of sight. This calamity is thought to be occasioned by a fine kind of sand, which is scattered about  
in

in May and June] by the South winds. Would it not be more reasonable to attribute it to the custom those people have of sleeping in the open air nine months in the year? This opinion will be readily admitted, since it is observed, that those who pass the night in their houses, or under tents, seldom experience so great a misfortune.

THERE are few countries on the face of the globe so fruitful as Egypt. The soil yields annually three crops, which require but one tillage. Vegetables succeed corn, and these are followed by pot-herbs; this happy fertility is owen to the Nile.

THAT river, the source of which is in Ethiopia, owes it's encrease to clouds, which falling down in rain, occasion it's periodical swell. It begins in the month of June, and augments till the end of September, at which time it gradually decreases. It's waters, after having traversed an immense space without dividing, are separated five leagues above Cairo into two branches, which meet no more.

A COUNTRY, however, where nothing is so seldom met with as a spring, and where rain is an extraordinary phenomenon, could only have been fertilized by the Nile. Accordingly, from times of the most remote antiquity, fourscore considerable canals were digged at the entrance of the kingdom, beside a great number of small ones, which distributed these waters all over Egypt. Except five or six of the deepest, they are all dry at the beginning, or towards the middle of winter; but then the soil no longer requires watering.



watering. If it should happen, that the river hath not swelled to the height of four hundred inches, the lower grounds are only watered. The others, to which their wells, constructed with swing-gates, or with wheels become useless, are considered as barren, and freed for that year of all imposts.

THE grounds are divided into three classes. That which is considered as the first of them, is the one which forms the Vakoups, or domain allotted to the Mosques, or other religious establishments. It is the worst cultivated of any of the grounds, and that which is more spared in the taxes by an ignorant and superstitious government.

THE principal civil and military officers of the state enjoy the profits of the second class. They leave very little to the bondsmen, who till the grounds with the sweat of their brows; and they seldom pay into the treasury the taxes they are indebted to it.

THE third class is divided between a great number of plain citizens, whose possessions, more or less extensive, are cultivated by active and intelligent farmers. These grounds compose the wealth of Egypt, and become the resource of the public treasury.

THOUGH one third of the grounds be left untilld, yet the country is not depopulated. It is reckoned to contain five or six millions of inhabitants, the most numerous of which are the Cophts, who derive their origin from the ancient Egyptians, to whom they have no small share of resemblance. Some of them have submitted to the

yoke of the Koran, the rest have remained subject to the gospel. They occupy, almost exclusively, all the Upper Egypt, and are very numerous in the Lower; several of them are cultivators, but more of them profess the arts. The most intelligent among them superintend the affairs of rich families, or serve as secretaries to men in office. When they have obtained these posts, which are deemed honourable, they soon acquire an absolute sway over masters, enervated by the climate, and by luxury. This kind of power soon leads them to the possession of wealth, which they generally squander in the most infamous excesses. If motives of avarice should have made them abstain from the pursuit of pleasure, they are deprived of their riches before the close of a turbulent life, by the tyrants whom they had deceived. Children are scarce ever known to inherit the fortune of their fathers.

THE most numerous race after the Copts, is that of the Arabs. These descendants of a people, who were formerly a conquering nation, all live in a state of the utmost ignominy. In this abject condition, their actions are never animated with spirit, and they have never been known to take any part in the revolutions with which this country is so frequently agitated. Their masters consider them only in the light of animals that are necessary for cultivation. Their lives and their fortunes are arbitrarily disposed of, while these acts of injustice and cruelty, have never brought down the vengeance of government upon the offenders. These unfortunate people have a particular dress,

they

they dwell in the fields, intermarry with one another, and scarce live upon any thing but vegetables and milk. If there be any among them who are able to indulge in a few conveniencies, they would not dare to do it, from the apprehension of exposing themselves to the risk of being taken notice of, which might, sooner or later, become fatal to them.

THE remainder of the population is composed of Turks, Jews, and Armenians, and of men of divers countries and sects, who have successively settled in Egypt. These foreigners, whatever be the reason of it, seldom leave a numerous posterity, and their descendants are not more fortunate. This humiliating sterility, however, is chiefly observed among the Mamelucs.

IN vain have these Circassians, or Georgians, been chosen in their youth from among the most healthy men in their provinces. In vain have the most beautiful wives of their country been bestowed upon them. In vain have they been all kept in a state of plenty, freed from the apprehensions of want, and from every anxiety. Scarce any children issue from these well-adapted connections, and the few that are born die within the year. Only two families are know'n to be the descendants of this race, and they have yet reached no further than to the second generation.

THE government of Egypt differs from every other. Before the invasion of the Turks, this region was under the sway of a chief, who was chosen by soldiers, all born in slavery, and who shared his authority with him. Selim would un-

doubtedly have been desirous to submit this new conquest to the same despotism as his other provinces; but circumstances were not favourable to this ambitious design. He was obliged to content himself with the rights of the dethroned Soldan, and to leave his haughty lieutenants in possession of the prerogatives they had for so long a time enjoyed. The Sultan sent into Egypt fourteen thousand of his best troops, in order to counterbalance this formidable militia. Far from attending to the interests of the Port, this corps employed themselves only about their own. They soon acquired sufficient influence to have every thing determined by their caprice; and they maintained the ascendant they had gained, 'till growing effeminate by the climate, they were no longer able to maintain a power which was not fixed on any kind of basis. It passed again into the hands of the Mamelucs, and that in a more extensive manner than ever.

THIS singular dynasty is composed of ten or twelve thousand slaves, brought from Georgia and Circassia when they were very young. They enter into the service of the great men of their nation, who have, like them, been all in a state of slavery, and who, sooner or later, give them their freedom. These freedmen are observed to rise from one post to another, 'till they attain to the rank of Bey, which is the highest of all.

THESE Beys govern the twenty-four provinces of the kingdom. Their number seldom exceeds sixteen or seventeen, because the most resolute among them are in possession of more than one government,



government, and because some feeble districts of Upper Egypt have been intrusted to Arabian Cheiks from time immemorial. Although they ought all to be of equal rank, the Bey who governs the capital most commonly assumes an authority over the rest, unless he be supplanted by some one of his colleagues, richer, more powerful, or more artful than himself. But whether the equilibrium be maintained or not, the free Turks never obtain any but civil or ecclesiastical employments. The military dignities, the offices of government, and all the highest honours, are destined only for those who have lived in servitude. The Divan, which is composed of the Beys and of their creatures, is the real sovereign. The Pacha, who represents the Sultan, receives homage, and orders are even given in his name; but they are dictated to him by insolent slaves. If he should refuse to do what is required of him, he is deposed, and leads a retired life, 'till the seraglio hath either sentenced him to death, or recalled him.

THE Mamelucs constitute the real force of Egypt. As they are all born in either a rough or a temperate climate, and as they have received an austere education, they form different troops of cavalry, which are divided among the Beys, in proportion to the degree of influence, or the ambition of those chiefs, and the greater or less estimation they are holden in. These powerful men dispose of the Turkish infantry in a manner almost as absolute. This infantry is effeminate, and hath entirely lost its military spirit. It is

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scarce composed of any but peaceable tradesmen, who cause their names to be registered, in order to enjoy the prerogatives attached to the name of a soldier. But whatever it may be, it's officers are entirely dependent upon the Beys, without whose protection they would not be able to obtain promotion.

BESIDE the contributions in kind, which are sent as an offering from the Grand Signior to Mecca and Medina, which he causes to be distributed among the troops, several imposts are raised in coin. The lands pay a tribute, and the Christians a poll-tax. The monopoly of cassia, fenna, and sal-ammoniac, is sold very dear. The customs produce a great deal. These objects united amount at least to ten millions of livres \*, of which there is seldom more than a fourth part conveyed to Constantinople. The chief Bey retains the remainder, or divides it with colleagues, if he be not able to keep it all.

THE interest of the Pacha is not more attended to than that of the Sultan. Even the militia seldom receive their entire pay; and citizens of all ranks are habitually plundered.

SUCH numerous vexations could not have been supported, had it not been for the resources derived from a very advantageous foreign trade, to which several ports are laid open. There are two in Alexandria, which formerly, it is said, communicated with each other, and are at present separated by a very narrow slip of land. The

\* 416,666 l. 11 s. 4 d.

Eastern,

Eastern, or New Port, is of easier access than the other; but it is almost filled up by the ballast of the ships, which it is customary to fling into it. It is not a century since the vessels were fastened to the key; but they are now at the distance of more than two hundred toises from it. The space which they can occupy is so narrow, that it is necessary to fix them with several anchors, to prevent their shocking each other; and even this precaution is not always sufficient. It happens very often in stormy weather, that these vessels run foul of those that are near them, and drag them along with them into flats, where they are miserably foundered together.

THE Western, or Old Harbour, is large and commodious. Men of war and merchantmen are equally secure in it; but the Europeans are excluded from it. Jealousy hath induced the Turkish navigators to invent a prophecy, which announces, that the city will fall into the hands of the Christians, whenever their ships are admitted into that fine harbour.

BOULES is four leagues distant from this place. It carries on no trade; and is never frequented except when the winds prevent the ships from getting to Alexandria, or from entering the Nile. Its harbour is very small; but exceedingly good; men of war would be sheltered from all danger there, even in winter.

THE merchandizes which are carried down the river upon boats, that are called *macks*, and brought up again as far as the last cataract, or the southern extremity of Egypt, are landed at

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Rozetto, one league distant from the western mouth of the Nile. The provisions are conveyed from the town itself to the ships, which are at no great distance, upon larger boats, know'n in that country by the name of *germes*.

A SIMILAR staple, but infinitely more considerable, hath been formed near the eastern mouth of the river, at Damietta. This, perhaps, was formerly a harbour, but at present the vessels are obliged to anchor in the open sea, at two leagues from the coast, upon a good bottom. If they are driven from thence by stormy weather, which is rather frequent in these latitudes in winter, they take refuge in the harbours of Cyprus, from whence they return to their port when the danger is over.

SEVEN or eight hundred Turkish, Barbary, or Christian Ships, or such as belong to the Christians, which trade for these people, arrive annually in Egypt. One hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty of them, come from Syria, seventy or fourscore from Constantinople, fifty or sixty from Smyrna, thirty or forty from Salonica, twenty-five or thirty from Candia, and all the rest from some islands, or from some parts of the continent, which are less opulent, and less fruitful. Their cargoes are valued, one with another, at 30,000 livres\*. If we suppose that there are seven hundred and fifty vessels, the country consumes to the amount of 22,500,000 livres†, of the productions brought by these traders. But it

\* 1,250l.

† 937,500l.

delivers



delivers above double that sum, in rice, coffee, flax, cloths, corn, vegetables, and in other articles. It must therefore receive 22,500,000 livres \* in money.

THE connections of the Europeans with Egypt are not so lucrative. The people among them by whom they are carried on, sell woollen cloths, gildings, silk stuffs, iron, lead, tin, paper, cochineal, hard-ware, and glass, and receive in exchange, rice, coffee, saffron, ivory, gums, cotton, fenna, cassia, spun thread, and sal-ammoniac.

IN 1776, the importations of the Venetians were reduced to 755,035 livres †, and their exports to 820,062 livres ‡. The importations of the Tuscans and the English, who trade to Leghorn, did not exceed 2,143,660 livres §, nor their exports 2,099,635 livres ¶. The importations of the French did not exceed 3,997,615 livres ||, nor their exports 3,075,450 livres \*\*. The total importation did not therefore amount to more than 6,896,310 livres ††, and the exportation to more than 3,995,147 livres ‡‡.

ALL the merchandize either bought or sold by the Europeans pay a duty of three per cent. This tax amounts to six per cent. for coffee, and to ten per cent. for rice, the exportation of which is prohibited. This imposition is for the profit of

\* 937,500 l.

† 34,169 l. 5 s.

‡ 87,484 l. 15 s.

§ 128,143 l. 15 s.

¶ 249,797 l. 16 s. 10 d.

† 31,459 l. 15 s. 10 d.

‡ 89,319 l. 13 s. 4 d.

§ 166,367 l. 5 s. 10 d.

|| 287,346 l. 5 s.

two ships sent every year from the Dardanelles to guard the coasts of Egypt from the depredations of the pirates, and which are of no other use but to oppress the traders, and to encourage smuggling.

EUROPE employs one hundred vessels in this trade; but only fifty or sixty of them return immediately to the ports from whence they were dispatched. The others enter into the service of any people who choose to employ them in the Levant.

SUMMER is the most favourable season for sailing from Europe to Egypt; the voyages are shortened by the west or north winds which blow almost continually at that time. Spring and autumn are the most proper seasons for returning. The navigation is very dangerous during winter upon these coasts, which are so low, that land is not discovered at two leagues distance, if the day be in the least dark, or the sky cloudy.

IF Egypt should ever emerge from the state of anarchy in which it is plunged; if an independent government should be formed there; and if the new constitution should be founded upon wise laws, that region will again become what it formerly was, one of the most industrious and fertile countries of the earth. It would be absurd to foretel the same prosperity to Lybia, which is inhabited at present by the people of Barbary.

Revolutions  
in Lybia.

THE early periods of this extensive country are involved in the greatest obscurity; nor was any light throw'n upon their history till the arrival of the Carthaginians. These merchants, originally

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of Phœnician extraction, about a hundred and thirty-seven years before the foundation of Rome, built a city, the territory of which, at first very limited, in process of time extended to all that country, known by the name of the kingdom of Tunis, and afterwards much further. Spain, and the greatest part of the islands in the Mediterranean, fell under it's dominion. Many other kingdoms must apparently have served to aggrandize this enormous power, when her ambitious views interfered with those of Rome. At the time of this dreadful collision, a war between these two nations was instantly kindled, and carried on with such obstinacy and fury, that it was easy to foresee it would not terminate, but in the utter destruction of the one or the other. Rome, which was now in the height of it's republican and patriotic principles, after many stubborn engagements, in which the greatest military skill was displayed, obtained a decisive superiority over that which was corrupted by it's riches. The commercial people became the slaves of the warlike power.

THE conquerors maintained themselves in the possession of their conquests, till about the middle of the Vth century. The Vandals, then hurried on by their original impetuosity beyond the limits of Spain, of which they were masters, passed the pillars of Hercules, and, like an inundation, diffused themselves over the country of Libya. These conquerors would certainly have preserved the advantages they had acquired by their irruptions, had they kept up that military spirit which their

king Genferic had inspired them with. But with this barbarian, who was not destitute of genius, this spirit became extinct; military discipline was relaxed; and the government, which rested only on this basis, was overthrow'n. Belisarius surpris'd these people in this confusion, extirpated them, and re-established the empire in it's ancient privileges. But this revolution was only momentary. Great men, who can form and bring to maturity a rising nation, cannot impart youth and vigour to an ancient and decayed people.

THIS is accounted for from a variety of reasons, all of them equally striking. The founder of an empire addresses himself to an inexperienced man, who is sensible of his misfortune, and disposed, by the continuance of it, to docility. He hath only to display the appearance of, and the character of benevolence, to be attended to, obeyed, and cherished. Daily experience adds to the personal confidence he inspires, and gives influence to his counsel. The superiority of his judgment is soon necessarily acknowledged. His precepts of virtue must ever acquire a greater degree of force, in proportion to the simplicity of his disciple. It is not difficult for him to depreciate vice, of which the guilty person is the first victim. He attacks openly such prejudices only as he expects to eradicate. He trusts to time, for the subversion of the rest; and the success of his projects is insured by the impossibility of discovering their tendency. His policy suggests to his imagination a variety of measures, calculated to excite astonishment, and to procure him veneration.

He



He then gives his orders, and his commands are occasionally sanctified by the authority of Heaven. He is high-priest and legislator, during his life, and at his death altars are erected to him; he is invoked; he is a god: the situation of the restorer of a corrupted nation is very different. He is an architect, who proposes to build upon a space covered with ruins; he is a physician, who attempts to cure a mortified carcase; he is a wise man, who preaches reformation to a hardened people. He can expect nothing but hatred and persecution, from the present, and will not live to see the future generation. He will reap few advantages, with a great deal of labour, during his life, and will obtain nothing but fruitless regret after his death. A nation is only regenerated in a sea of blood. It is the image of old Esau, whose youth Medea could renew by no other mode, except that of cutting him to pieces and boiling him. It is not in the power of one man to raise a fallen nation. It appears that this must be the result of a long series of revolutions. The man of genius doth not live long enough, and leaves no successors.

In the VIIth century, the Saracens, formidable in their institutions and their success, armed with the sword and with the Koran, obliged the Romans, weakened by their divisions, to repass the seas, and augmented with the accession of the northern part of Africa, that vast dominion Mohammed had just founded with so much glory. The lieutenants of the Caliphs afterwards deprived their masters of these rich spoils, and

erected the provinces, intrusted to their care, into independent states.

This division, with respect to strength and power, inspired the Turks with the ambition of making themselves masters of this territory. Their success was perhaps more rapid than they had expected; but a new revolution soon reduced these considerable conquests to very trifling advantages.

THE Pachas, or Viceroys, intrusted with the care of the conquered countries, carried along with them that spirit of rapine, of which their nation had left such indelible traces. They were not the people alone who were exposed to perpetual pillage; the oppression was also extended to the troops, although they were all Ottoman. These soldiers, who were more inclined to commit acts of injustice than to put up with them, represented to the Port, that the Moors, and Arabs, irritated by repeated acts of tyranny, were ripe for a rebellion; that Spain, on her part, was preparing for an immediate invasion; and that the army, being incomplete, and ill paid, had it neither in their inclination nor in their power to prevent these troublesome events. There was but one effectual method discovered to escape so many calamities: this was the founding of a particular government, which, under the protection of the seraglio, and paying a tribute to it, would itself provide for its maintenance, and for its defence. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, were put under a similar legislation, which is a species of aristocracy. The chief, who,

under

under the title of Dey, governs the republic, is elected by the soldiers, who are always Turkish, and constitute the only nobility of the country. These elections are seldom made without bloodshed; and it is no unusual thing for a man, who hath been elected in the midst of riot and slaughter, to be afterwards assassinated by a restless faction, who design either to secure that distinction for themselves, or to sell it for their advancement. The empire of Morocco, though hereditary, is subjected to the same revolutions. We are going to see to what state of degradation this anarchy hath reduced a great part of the globe.

THE state of Tripoli is bounded by Egypt on one side, and by Tunis on the other, and extends two hundred and thirty leagues along the coast. Though the territory be not very fertile, yet the population might be easily increased ten fold, because the abundance of fish might supply the deficiency of crops, and these might also be improved by additional labour. The inland part of the country is nothing but a desert. We meet only, at a distance from each other, some Moorish and Arabian families, settled in the few places where they discovered land enough to furnish them with a moderate subsistence. At thirty days journey from the capital, is situated the miserable and tributary kingdom of Fez, the inhabitants of which are black. The little intercourse the countries maintain with each other, can only be kept up through dry and moveable sands, where water is seldom to be met with. The republic

Present condition of  
Tripoli.

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XI.

public may enjoy a revenue of 2,000,000 livres\*, from the palm-trees, the wells that are in the country, the customs, and the mine.

THE caravans of the Gadammies, and of Tombuto, formerly carried a great deal of gold to Tripoli; but they have not lately been so rich, or so constant. The caravan of Morocco still continues to call there, in it's way to and from Mecca, that place which is so much revered by the Mussulmen; but, as the number of pilgrims hath evidently decreased, this passage is no longer so useful. For these reasons, the trade, which is carried on by land, is reduced to nothing, or to very little.

THAT which is carried on by sea, is rather more considerable. The navigators of the Levant, sometimes, take in their cargoes from some of the indifferent harbours scattered along that immense coast, but most of them make their purchases and sales in the harbour of the capital, which is much better than the rest, and in which are collected all the foreign merchandize, as well as those of the country. Although these operations be not very important, yet, the connections of the republic with Europe are still more insignificant.

No people, except the Tuscans and Venetians, maintain any constant intercourse with Tripoli; and yet the mercantile articles of the former, are not sold for more than 140,000 livres†, and those

\* 83,333 l. 6s. 8d.

† 5,833 l. 6s. 8d.



of the latter, do not amount to 200,000 livres \*. The former have remained subject to all the formalities of the customs; the second have freed themselves from them, by paying annually 55,500 livres † to the treasury. The French have disdained to have any share in this bargain, though their sovereign hath not discontinued to send an agent to Tripoli.

Of all the Barbary states, Tripoli was for a long time the one which had the most numerous, and the best armed privateers. They always sailed from the capital, which bears the same name as the kingdom.

THIS town, which hath long been suspected of being the ancient Orea, on account of it's magnificent ruins, and of a beautiful aqueduct in great preservation, and which must at least have been a Greek or Roman colony, is situated on the borders of the sea, in a plain which only produces dates, and where neither springs nor rivers are to be found. It was one of the first posts occupied by the Arabians, who entered into Lybia through Egypt. The Spaniards took it in 1510, and eighteen years after, it was given by the Emperor Charles V. to the Knights of Malta, in whose hands it remained only 'till the year 1551. It hath since been twice bombarded by the French; but the boldness of these pirates hath not been in the least restrained by these chastisements. The decline, and subsequent ruin of it's maritime forces, have been entirely

\* 8,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

† 2,312 l. 10 s.

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XI.Present situation of  
Tunis.

brought about by the civil commotions by which this unfortunate country hath been incessantly subverted.

TUNIS hath likewise neglected it's military navy, since the time that the regency hath concluded treaties with the northern powers; and since Corsica hath fallen under the dominion of the French. It was found that the value of the prizes was hardly sufficient to reimburse the expences of fitting out, and scarce any other vessels have been preserved, except such as were thought necessary to protect the coasts from the invasions of the Maltese.

THE land forces have experienced no diminution. Five or six thousand Turks, or Christian renegadoes, constitute the firmest support of the republic.

THEIR children, under the name of Couloris, form a second troop; they are put upon pay as soon as they are born, and the first payment they receive is two aspres, or one sol\*. This increases with their age, and with their rank, as far as twenty-nine aspres, or fourteen sols six deniers†; and it is reduced to half that sum, when these soldiers are obliged by their infirmities, or by the wounds they have received, to retire.

THE cavalry of the state consists of seven thousand Moors; their pay is very trifling, and, most frequently, given to them in provisions. Their

\* About a halfpenny.

† Rather more than 11 s. 8 d.

most common occupation is to collect the duties imposed upon the Arabs.

B O O K  
X I.

THESE troops are all armed with firelocks without bayonets, and with two pistols at their girdle. Beside these, the Turks have a dagger, and the Moors a filetto. In all of them, courage and impetuosity must both supply the deficiency of regular manœuvres and discipline.

No country in the northern part of Africa hath so considerable a revenue as Tunis. It consists of 18,000,000 of livres. \* This prosperity, which is entirely of a very modern date, hath been the consequence of a very fortunate revolution in the government. The Dey, who, in conjunction with his Turks, held the reins of government, hath been deprived of the greatest part of his authority, and hath been succeeded by a Moorish prince, who, under the title of Bey, at present conducts the affairs of government, and is assisted by a more wise and more moderate council. Oppressions have, in some degree, been alleviated; the soil hath been less ill-cultivated, and the manufactures have acquired some extension. It was scarce possible that the connections with the inland parts of Africa could increase; they will always be confined to the barter of a small number of articles, for gold dust, conveyed across immense sands and deserts: but the maritime connections have been extended. The Levant hath received a greater quantity of pro-

\* 750,000 l.

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ductions, and the trade with Europe hath likewise improved.

THOUGH England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Venice, Ragusa, and sometimes Tuscany, send consuls to Tunis, the trade carried on with those nations is very trifling; and, indeed, the English have no concern in it. They only keep an agent there for the greater security of their flag in the Mediterranean, and to procure an additional mart to the inhabitants of Minorca. The French carry off the greatest part of the trade from their united rivals; and yet they do not introduce goods annually into the dominions of the republic, to the amount of more than 2,000,000 of livres \*. To the profit which these people derive from their exports and imports, which become every day more considerable, must be added, the benefits which accrue to their navigators, by employing their vessels to carry the provisions of the republic to every sea-port of the Levant, and by bringing back what the republic receives from those places for its subsistence. Every one of the numerous vessels employed in this coasting trade, pays thirty-one livres ten sols † for the privilege of anchoring, and an equal sum when they land their cargoes.

EVERY commodity that enters the state is not obliged to pay more than three per cent. if it comes directly from the country which furnishes it. But the productions of the north, or of other

\* 83,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. † 1 l. 6 s. 3 d.



parts, which have been deposited at Leghorn, pay eight per cent. as well as those which come immediately from that celebrated port, and even eleven per cent. when directed to Jews. Formerly government had kept in their own hands the exclusive trade of the oils, which are required by some parts of Europe for their soap manufactories, and by Egypt, Algiers, and Tripoli, for other purposes; they have given up this monopoly; but this sacrifice hath been purchased by very considerable duties.

THOUGH Tunis hath concentrated within it's own walls a great part of the trade, the other harbours of the republic, scattered along a coast of four or five leagues in extent, receive likewise some vessels.

THE one which is the nearest to Tripoli, is called Sfax. It hath a clayish bottom, and hath so little water, that the smallest vessels are obliged to anchor at a distance, and to fatigue their crews to excess, or to ruin themselves in expences for boats. The soil doth not produce any provisions proper for exportation, but some important manufactures have been formed in the town, which is mostly inhabited by Arabs.

THE harbour of Sufa, is defended by three castles, even the most modern of which is falling into ruin, though it be not yet finished. This harbour is very unsafe, the ships in it being constantly agitated by the east and by the north-west winds, which sometimes occasion the loss of those that have not had time to shelter themselves in the bay of Monoster. Notwithstanding this in-

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convenience, this city is the second in the republic; and this is owen to the abundance of it's oils, and of it's wool.

TUNIS is situated in the midst of infectious morasses, at the foot, or upon the declivity of a hill, Though the air be not pure, and though the waters be so bad, that the inhabitants are obliged to go two or three miles before they can find any that is fit to drink, yet one hundred and fifty thousand of the least barbarous people of Africa are collected within it's walls. This town hath a communication with the sea, by means of a lake, which can admit none but very flat boats, that are called *Sandals*. At the extremity of this lake, is found a narrow canal leading to the Goulette, which must be considered as the harbour of the capital. This harbour is immense, safe, and most uncommonly even in it's bottom, and on it's surface: it is only open to the north-east winds, and is closed by two chains of mountains, which are terminated on the north by Cape Bona, and by Cape Zebib.

BISERTA was very famous at the time that the republic kept up a great number of galleys; it was from that port they were fitted out, and they brought back to it the profits they reaped from their perpetual piracies. The canal which led from the harbour to the town hath been gradually filled up with mud, and it is at present accessible to no other vessels than *Sandals*; even merchantmen can no longer enter it, and are obliged to cast anchor rather in a dangerous situation.

PORT-

PORT-FARINE, situated on the ruins, or in the neighbourhood of the ancient Utica, was formerly one of the most extensive, safe, and commodious harbours of the Mediterranean, and would still be so under any other government, except that of the Moors. It is defended by four forts, and closed by a narrow pass, which at this time is scarce accessible to the smallest vessels, and if it be still neglected, will be quite filled up in a short time, by the sands continually thrown in by the sea. It is however the arsenal, and the only asylum for the naval military forces, which are at present reduced to three half galleys, and five xebecs. The place where Carthage formerly stood, is a few miles distant from this town; there are no other remains of this renowned city, beside the ruins of a great aqueduct, and some cisterns in tolerable preservation. The traces even of it's harbour are so much effaced, that the sea is at the distance of a league from it.

The island of Gahite is situated almost at the mouth of the Zaine, which separates Tunis from Algiers. This island is covered with flocks, and more especially with mules, which are in great request throughout the whole of the Levant. It's numerous inhabitants are all weavers of wool, or employed in gathering sponge. Not far from this island is that of Tabarcoo, which the family of the Lomellini had been in possession of for two centuries, when they were deprived of it in 1741. The Genoese drew from this barren rock a great quantity of very fine coral.

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XI.Present state  
of Algiers.

To the west of Tunis, is the republic of Algiers, the inland parts of which are bounded by the desert of Sahara, as are all the interior parts in Barbary; they are more extensive, more populous, and better cultivated than is generally supposed. There are not many towns in them, and most of these are built upon the coasts, the extent of which is one hundred and twenty leagues.

THE public revenue is not proportionate to the number of inhabitants, and to the quantity of productions. The duties are commonly lost in the hands of dishonest persons who are appointed to collect them. The three Beys, or governors of the east, of the south, and of the west, do not deliver into the treasury more than 1,250,000 livres\*, and give only 117,000 livres† to the troops; whatever more is required for the expences of the state, is supplied by the customs, by the domain, by the annual levies in provisions, and in cattle, by the more precarious profit arising from prizes taken at sea, and from the sale of slaves.

THE principal militia of the country consists entirely of Turks; their number ought to be twelve thousand, but they are never complete. The Dey, his lieutenants, and the members of the divan, are chosen out of this powerful body.

THE descendants of these privileged men are called Couloris; their number is sixty thousand,

\* 52,083 l. 6s. 8d. † 4,875 l.

they



they are all in the service of the regency, and paid in the same manner as at Tunis.

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THE cavalry, which consists of about twenty thousand men, is composed entirely of Moors; whether they make war against the Arabs, or are employed by government for the defence of the provinces, or in collecting the taxes, their pay is very trifling.

BESIDE this numerous army, which is always kept up, the government can dispose at pleasure of the Moors who dwell in the plains, or among the mountains, if they should be in want of them; they all of them join their standards without reluctance, and attack the enemy with great intrepidity.

THE naval forces are not near so numerous as those of the land; at present they are reduced to seventeen vessels; one ship of fifty guns, two frigates of forty-two and thirty four guns, five large barks, two xebecs, four half galleys, and three galliots; several of these vessels, which are all destined for piracy, belong to the state, others to the officers of the regency, and some even to private individuals. Every proprietor bears the expence of his armament, and divides the profits with the treasury and with the crew. The Dey commonly requires the prizes which consist of timber for ship-building, and of military stores. He ought to pay the value of them, but the indemnity is never proportioned to the sacrifice.

THE navigators, to whom the ports of Algiers are opened, can land in seven or eight places.

THE

THE port of Callaa, at a small distance from the frontiers of Tunis, is tolerably good, but it cannot hold more than five or six ships. Those that are admitted into it are all French: some individuals of that nation have obtained, ever since the year 1560, from the Moorish prince, who governed the district at that time, the liberty of forming a settlement to carry on the coral fishery. They were driven away eight years after by the Turks, and re-established in 1597, but they were again expelled: they were recalled in 1637, and permitted to re-build a small fortification formerly erected there, under the name of the bastion of France. Being soon disgusted with so inconvenient a situation, the persons concerned transferred their settlement to Chale, which the English had been compelled to abandon; they themselves were expelled soon after, and they were not allowed to return to their post, till after the bombardment of Algiers, executed in 1682, and 1684, by command of Lewis XIV.

In 1694, a more powerful association than any of the preceding, obtained the exclusive trade upon a considerable extent of coast, by a treaty which hath often been renewed, and which will in all probability be maintained, because the conditions of it are favourable to the militia, to whom the tribute upon which it is founded belongs. Several companies have successively exercised this monopoly with more or less advantage. Since 1741, it is in the hands of a company, which hath formed at Marseilles a capital of 1,200,000 livres\*,

\* 50,000*l*.

divided into twelve hundred shares, three hundred of which belong to the chamber of commerce of this celebrated city. BOOK  
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THE first transactions of the society were unfortunate. The depredations made by pirates, and by the natives, by the competition of smugglers, and by a corrupt administration, reduced their capital in 1766 to 570,000 livres\*; since that period, their affairs have been so prosperous, that in the latter part of December 1773, they were in possession of 4,512,445 livres, 3 sols, 4 deniers†, beside the doubtful debts, the value of their buildings, and some merchandise which remained unfold in the warehouses.

THEIR exports are trifling, and it is chiefly with money that they purchase coral, wax, wool, tallow, hides, and especially corn. In 1773, they brought into the kingdom eighty-four thousand, three hundred, and six loads of wheat, and sixteen thousand, one hundred, and seventy three loads of barley, beans, and millet seed. One hundred, or one hundred and twenty vessels, the fitting out of which costs about one hundred thousand crowns‡, are annually employed in this business.

THOUGH the company hath agents at Bona, and at Callaa, all the transactions are carried on at the last place. They are even permitted to have a few batteries, and some soldiers in this fortified factory, in order to secure themselves

\* 33,750 l.

† About 188,018 l. 11s.

‡ 12,500 l.

from

from the plunders of the pirates, and from the insults of the neighbouring Moors.

THE court of Versailles hath been often censured, for having shackled these connections in the bonds of a monopoly. It hath not been observed, that it was necessary to insure the subsistence of Provence; and there was no other method of doing this, because the exportation of corn from the states of Barbary is seldom permitted.

BONA appears to have been the ancient Hippona. A few beautiful ruins are discovered amidst the boldness of the Moorish taste. It would be an easy matter to make a commodious harbour to the town, as it hath already an exceeding good road. This new asylum would be sufficiently protected by the works which have existed for a long while, under the name of the Fort of Genoa.

BUGIA is a tolerably large staple for oil, and for the wax, which are found in the neighbouring plains; and especially for iron, which is brought from more distant mountains, that abound in mines. Though it's harbour be too much exposed to the north winds, the squadrons of the republic used to anchor in it, before they were destroyed there by the English in the last century.

THE antiquities which are found in Tedelez, prove that it was formerly a considerable place. The vestiges of a great pier are even discerned upon the shore, which probably advanced into the sea, and formed a port to the town. It is at present a very indifferent harbour, where ships  
which



which go to take in their lading are too often destroyed.

ALGIERS, the capital of the state, forms an amphitheatre, upon the declivity of a hill, which is crowned by the citadel. It's territory is well cultivated by slaves, and is covered with wheat, rice, hemp, fruits, vegetables, and even with vines, planted by the Moors who were expelled from Grenada. The entering into, and the going out of the port, are very difficult; it is exceedingly narrow, and doth not contain sufficient water to hold men of war: and in stormy weather even the merchantmen are not safe; they often run foul of each other, and are sometimes shattered, when the north or north-east winds blow with violence. The harbour forms a semicircle; it hath a good bottom; but as it is exposed to the same winds as the port, the ships are in equal danger in the stormy seasons.

SERCELLI is five or six leagues distant from Algiers. This town hath a creek, or small bay, where several vessels cast anchor. It's soil is very low, it's shore beautiful, and it is the part of the coast the most favourable for a descent.

ARSEW, the environs of which are delightful, must be the Arsenaria of the antients. Some tolerably fine remains of several monuments are found in it. It's port is safe, commodious, and well frequented. A harbour might be formed in it, at a trifling expence, capable of receiving the largest ships. This is the Moorish town nearest to Oran, which the Spaniards took possession of in 1509; which was taken from them in 1708; and which

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which they retook in 1732, and have kept ever since.

THE numbers of European ships which land annually at the States of Algiers, vary according to circumstances; but they are never considerable; the most plentiful harvest doth not attract above one hundred. A French vessel, whether great or small, laden or empty, pays for it's anchorage 143 livres 8 sols\*; and this tax is still higher for other nations. They ought all, without distinction, to pay three per cent. for all the merchandize they bring in; but this duty is reduced to two per cent. by the arrangements made with the farmers of the customs. The provisions that are exported from the country are subjected to no tax, because government are the only dealers in them.

THOUGH the English, the Danes, the Dutch, the Swedes, and the Venetians, are perfectly free in the ports of Algiers, they nevertheless carry on no great trade there. Three fourths of the trade are fallen into the hands of the French; and yet their annual sales do not amount to more than 200,000 livres†, nor their purchases to above 600,000 livres‡. Two thousand six hundred and fifty quintals of wool, five thousand of oil, sixteen thousand of wheat, and thirty thousand hides, are the amount of all their exports. The transactions of the African Company are not included in these calculations.

\* 5l. 19s. 6d.

† 8,333 l. 6s. 8d.

‡ 25,000 l.

MOROCCO

Morocco hath been as often and as dreadfully subverted as the rest of the northern coasts of Africa; but hath not submitted to the Turkish yoke. Even those provinces which had been dismembered from it, under the name of Fez, of Sus, and of Tafilet, have been successively united to the empire. One single despot governs this immense country, according to his caprices, which are almost always extravagant or sanguinary. The destructive authority which he hath been suffered to usurp, is perpetuated without any other regular troops, except a feeble guard of timid negroes. It is only with some of these slaves whom he chooses occasionally to assemble under his banners, that he makes war. His maritime forces are scarce more formidable. They consist of three frigates, two half-galleys, three xebecks, and fifteen galliots. Piracy hath been hitherto their only occupation. It might be expected that these depredations would soon be put an end to, if it were reasonable to rely upon the faith of a tyrant, or to hope that his successors would at last adopt some more humane sentiments. The public revenue must be very trifling; in a region which is for ever ruined by vexations and massacres. The expences, however, are still less. Whatever can be spared is added to increase an immense treasure, antiently formed out of the spoils of Spain, and always augmented by a long series of sovereigns, more or less cruelly who looked upon money as the only good, and thought nothing of the happiness of their subjects.

THIS

THIS ardent thirst of wealth hath descended from the throne to individuals. A caravan sets out annually from the town of Morocco, which was the capital of the state, before Mequinez was preferred by the sovereigns. This caravan, which goes in search of gold from Upper Guinea, must have travelled over a space of five hundred leagues before it's arrival in the kingdom, two hundred in the empire itself, two hundred in the desert of Sahara, and one hundred after having quitted it. In the midst of the desert, surrounded with barren and accumulated sands, where it is not possible to travel but in the night, where the march must necessarily be slow, where one must be guided by a compass, and by observing the stars, in the same manner as on the ocean; in this desert nature hath placed a less savage district, abounding in springs and in salt mines. The camels are laden with this necessary fossil, and it is carried to Tombuto, where gold is received in exchange.

THIS precious metal, when arrived at Morocco, is very seldom circulated there. It is buried, as in all governments where the fortunes of individuals are not secure. A similar destiny attends the money which is introduced by the Europeans in the empire, in the nine harbours which are always open to them.

TETUAN is the nearest port to the state of Algiers. It is safe, unless the easterly winds blow with violence, which seldom happens. The river of Boursega, which empties itself into it, serves for an asylum to some pirates during the winter.



The garrison of Gibraltar formerly sent to purchase there the cattle, fruit, and vegetables, necessary for it's consumption; but this connection hath ceased, since the sovereign of the country hath required that the English consul should reside at Tangier.

THIS town, conquered by Portugal in 1471, was given to the English in 1662. These forsook it, after keeping it two and twenty years. When they retired, they blew up a pier, which they had constructed for the security of the largest ships. The ruins of this beautiful work have rendered the approach of the bay very difficult. Accordingly it would be of no importance, if the mouth of the river, which is discovered at the end, did not afford a shelter to most of the gallies of the empire. Tangier hath succeeded Tetuan in supplying Gibraltar with provisions. The communication between these two Moorish towns is interrupted by the fortress of Ceuta, which is parted from Spain, to which it belongs, only by a strait of five leagues.

ARRACH is the natural vent for the productions of Asgar, one of the largest and the most fertile provinces of the empire. This advantage, a fortunate position, and the goodness of it's port, must sooner or later impart to it some degree of activity. At present it is inhabited only by soldiers. Since the expedition which the French attempted against it, in 1765, the fortifications raised by the Spaniards, when they were masters of the place, have been restored.

SALLEE was, not long ago, almost an independent republic, under a chief elected by itself. Its situation, in the midst of the country subject to Morocco, enabled it to collect a great many provisions. Its inhabitants were at once both merchants and pirates. They have almost ceased to exercise either of these professions, after having been subdued, and spoiled of their riches by the present monarch, at the time that his father was upon the throne. A sand-bank, which seems to be perpetually increasing, prevents all ships from entering the river, except those which do not carry more than six or seven feet of water; but the harbour is safe from the end of April till the end of September.

MULEY MEHMET was desirous of building a commercial town in the peninsula of Fedale, and most of the buildings were begun. A harbour, which is safe in all seasons, though the sea be constantly agitated, had suggested this idea to him. He hath given it up, since he hath been made to understand that the expence would be thrown away, upon a coast which was accessible almost in all parts.

IN 1769, the Portugueze forsook Mazagan, after having destroyed the works. Since this period, the place is almost deserted. Its harbour is convenient in summer for small vessels; but even in that season the men of war are obliged to anchor at a distance.

SAFFI hath a large harbour, which is very safe part of the year, but too much exposed in winter

to the violence of the south and south-east winds. Its situation, in the midst of a fertile, rich, and populous country, had rendered this great town almost the general market of the productions of the empire. It hath been lately stripped of this advantage by Mogador, which is built on the most western part of Africa.

THE port of this new staple is only a banal formed by an island, at the distance of five hundred toises from the land. One may sail in and out of it with every wind; but it hath not sufficient depth to harbour large ships, and the anchorage is not safe in bad weather. No man of war can anchor on the coast, on account of the great rapidity of the currents. Though the territory surrounding this place be not very fit for cultivation, the caprice of the despot, who still governs the country, hath rendered it the most important mart of his dominions, more considerable even than all the others collectively.

SANTA CRUZ, situated in the kingdom of Sus, in the thirtieth degree of latitude, is the last maritime place of the empire. Its harbour is convenient, and very safe even for ships of the line, but during summer only. It was formerly a tolerably great market, where the navigators found collected together all the productions of an extensive and well-cultivated country, and where all the gold which Tarodant drew from Tombuto was brought. The town was taken out of the hands of the Portugueze, and returned under the dominion of the Moors, without entirely losing its importance. An earthquake, which destroyed

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part of it in 1731, was more fatal than this revolution. It might, perhaps, have recovered from this calamity, had not Muley Muhammet, in a fit of passion, the cause of which was never know'n, driven the inhabitants out of it some years after, and substituted to them a colony of Negroes.

Morocco receives but few European vessels, Its ports are shut against several nations, and England, Holland, and Tuscany, who have formed treaties with that power, reap no great advantage from them. In order to give some spirit to this trade, which was perhaps too much neglected, a capital of 1,323,958 livres, 6 sols, 6 deniers\*, was formed at Copenhagen in 1755, which was divided into five hundred shares, of 2,647 livres 18 sols 4 deniers each †. This association was to last forty years; but, for what reason is not know'n, it hath not continued half the time. Though the connections of France with that empire have not subsisted beyond the year 1767, the transactions of this crown are of much more importance, and yet its annual sales do not exceed 400,000 livres ‡, nor its purchases 1,200,000 livres ||.

EVERY thing that enters, or comes out of the states of Morocco, pays ten per cent. Each vessel is also obliged to deliver five hundred pounds of gun-powder, and ten bullets from ten to twelve inches in diameter, or 577 livres ten

\* About 55,164 l. 18 s. 8 d. † About 110 l. 6 s. 8 d.

‡ 16,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. || 50,000 l.



sols \* in specie. The Spanish coin is most commonly used; but all the others are admitted according to their weight and their denomination.

THE picture that hath just been traced of the countries of Barbary, must have appeared very horrid. The state of desolation in which we have seen them plunged, hath been the unavoidable consequence of the propensity of these people to piracy. This taste, which is very antient in these regions, increased considerably after they had shaken off a foreign yoke. It became a passion, upon occasion of an event which greatly increased their maritime forces.

Origin of the piracies committed upon the Eastern Coasts of Africa. Means of putting a stop to them.

SPAIN, which, for several centuries, had been subject to the disciples of the Koran, had, at last, broken it's chains, and subdued the Mohammedans in it's turn. It was desirous of compelling them to turn Christians; and it's zeal was irritated by unsurmountable resistance. It's blindness went so far as to depopulate the state, in order to purge it of suspicious subjects, and such as were of an inimical religion. Most of these exiles sought a refuge among the people of Barbary. Their new country was too ignorant of trade and industry, to enable them to put forth their talents, and to avail themselves of their riches. The spirit of revenge made them pirates. At first they contented themselves with ravaging the vast and fertile plains of their oppressors. They surprized, in their beds, the lazy inhabit-

\* 24 l. 1 s. 3 d.

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ants of the rich countries of Valencia, Grenada, and Andalusia, and reduced them to slavery. But, at length, disdaining the spoils they acquired, upon a soil which they had formerly cultivated with their own hands, they constructed large vessels, insulted the flag of the other nations, and reduced the greatest powers of Europe to the shameful necessity of sending them annual presents, which, under whatever denomination we may disguise them, are, in fact, a tribute. These pirates have been sometimes punished, sometimes humbled; but their depredations have never been totally suppressed, although this might be done with the greatest ease.

THE Arabs, wandering in the deserts; the antient inhabitants of the country, who cultivate the fields; the Moors come out of Spain, most of whom are settled upon the coasts; the Jews, who are despised, oppressed, and outraged; all the people, in a word, of that continent, detest the yoke which oppresses them, and would not make the least exertion to continue under it.

No foreign succour would retard for a moment the fall of this authority. The only power that might be suspected of wishing it's preservation, the Sultan of Constantinople, is not so highly gratified with the vain title of protector, which it confers on him, nor so jealous of that of the chief of the religion which is ascribed to him, to interest himself warmly in it's preservation. All endeavours to excite the Turks to interfere, by submissions, which particular circumstances might probably extort from these plunderers, would certainly

certainly be ineffectual. Their intreaties would not impart strength. For these two centuries past, the Porte has no navy, and it's military power is continually decaying.

BUT to what people is reserved the glory of breaking those fetters which Africa is thus insensibly preparing for us, and of removing those terrors, which are so formidable to our navigators. No nation can attempt it alone; and, perhaps, if it did, the jealousy of the rest would throw secret obstacles in it's way. This must, therefore, be the work of a general combination. All the maritime powers must concur in the execution of a design, in which all are equally interested. These states, which every thing invites to mutual alliance, to mutual good-will, to mutual defence, ought to be weary of the calamities which they reciprocally bring upon each other. After having so frequently united for their mutual destruction, let them at length take up arms for their preservation. War, for once, at least, will then become useful and just.

ONE may venture to assert, that such a war would be of no long continuance, if it were conducted with skill and unanimity. Each member of the confederacy, attacking at the same time the enemy it had to reduce, would experience but a weak resistance, or, perhaps, none. Perhaps, this noblest and greatest of enterprises would cost Europe less blood and treasure, than the most trivial of those quarrels with which it is continually agitated.

No man would do the politicians who should form this plan the injustice to suppose, that they would confine their ambition to the filling up of roads, the demolishing of forts, and the ravaging of coasts. Such narrow notions would be inconsistent with the present improvements of reason. The countries subdued would remain to the conquerors, and each of the allies would acquire possessions, proportionate to the assistance they had given to the common cause. These conquests would become so much the more secure, as the happiness of the vanquished would be the consequence of them. This race of pirates, these sea-monsters, would be changed into men by salutary laws, and examples of humanity. The progress they would gradually make, by the knowledge we should impart to them, would, in time, dispel that fanaticism which ignorance and misery have kept up in their minds. They would ever recollect, with gratitude, the memorable era which had brought us to their shores.

We should no longer see them leave a country uncultivated, which was formerly so fertile. Corn, and various fruits, would soon cover this immense tract of land. These productions would be bartered for the works of our industry, and of our manufactures. European traders, settled in Africa, would become the factors of this trade, which would prove of mutual advantage to both countries. A communication so natural, between opposite coasts, and between people who have a necessary intercourse with each other, would,



would, as it were, extend the boundaries of the world. This new kind of conquest which presents itself to us, would amply compensate for those, which, during so many centuries, have contributed to the distress of mankind.

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THE jealousy of the great maritime powers, who have obstinately rejected all expedients to re-establish tranquillity on our seas, hath been the chief impediment to so important a revolution. The hope of checking the industry of every weak state, hath accustomed them to wish, that these piracies of Barbary should continue, and hath even induced them to encourage these plunders. This is an enormity, the ignominy of which they would never have incurred, if their understanding had equalled their mercenary views. All nations would certainly profit from this happy change; but the greatest advantages would infallibly redound to the maritime states, in proportion to their power. Their situation, the safety of their navigation, the greatness of their capital, and various other means, would secure them this superiority. They are constantly complaining of the shackles which national envy, the folly of restraints and prohibitions, and the confined idea of exclusive traffic, have imposed upon their activity. The people gradually become as much strangers to one another, as they were in the barbarous ages. The void, which this want of communication necessarily occasions, would be filled up, if Africa were brought to have wants and resources to satisfy them. The spirit of commerce

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commerce would have a new career opened to its exertion.

NEVERTHELESS, if the reduction and subjection of Barbary would not become a source of happiness for them as well as for ourselves; if we are resolved not to treat them as brethren; if we wish not to consider them as our friends; if we must keep up and perpetuate slavery and poverty among them; if fanaticism can still renew those detestable crusades, which philosophy, too late, hath consigned to the indignation of all ages; if Africa must at length become the scene of our cruelties, as Asia and America have been, and still are; may the project which humanity hath now dictated to us, for the good of our fellow-creatures, be buried in perpetual oblivion! Let us remain in our ports. It is indifferent, whether they be Christians or Mussulmen who suffer. Man is the only object worthy to interest man.

MEN! you are all brethren. How long will you defer to acknowledge each other? How long will it be before you perceive that Nature, your common mother, offers nourishment equally to all her children? Why must you destroy each other; and why must the hand that feeds you be continually stained with your blood? The acts that would excite your abhorrence in animals, you have been committing almost ever since you exist. Are you apprehensive of becoming too numerous? And do you not think that you will be exterminated fast enough by pestilential diseases,

eases, by the inclemency of the elements, by your labours, by your passions, by your vices, by your prejudices, by the weakness of your organs, and by the natural shortness of your life? The wisdom of the Being to whom you owe your existence, hath prescribed limits to your population, and to that of all living creatures, which will never be broken through. Have you not, in your wants, which are incessantly renewed, a sufficient number of enemies conspiring against you, without entering into a league with them? Man boasts of his superior excellence to all natural beings; and yet, with a spirit of ferociousness, which is not observed even in the race of tygers, man is the most terrible scourge of man. If his wishes were to be accomplished, there would soon remain no more than one single being of the same species upon the whole face of the globe.

THIS being, so cruel and so compassionate, so odious and so interesting, unhappy in the northern part of Africa, experiences a destiny infinitely more dreadful in the western part of this vast region.

UPON this coast, which extends from the Streight of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope, the inhabitants have all, beyond the Niger, an oblong head; the nose large, flattened and spread out; thick lips; and curled hair, like the wool of our sheep. They are born white; and the only brown colour they at first exhibit, is round the nails and the eyes, with a small spot formed at the extremity of the genitals. Towards the

Colour of the inhabitants of the Western Coast of Africa, known by the name of Guinea. Enquiry into the cause of this phenomenon.

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eighth day after their birth the children begin to change colour, their skin darkens, and at length grows black, but of a dirty, fallow, and almost livid black; which, in process of time, becomes glossy and shining.

THE flesh, however, the bones, the viscera, and all the internal parts, are of the same colour in Negroes as in white people. The lymph is equally white and limpid; and the milk of the nurser is every where the same.

THE most palpable difference between them is, that the Negroes have the skin much hotter, and, as it were, oily, the blood of a blackish hue, the bile very deep coloured, the pulse quicker, a sweat which yields a strong and disagreeable smell, and a perspiration which often blackens the substance it comes in contact with. One of the inconveniences of this black colour, the image of night, which confounds all objects, is, that it hath, in some measure, obliged these people to scar their face and breast, and to stain their skin with various colours, in order that they may know each other at a distance. There are some tribes in which this practice is universal; among others, it appears to be a distinction reserved to superior rank. But as we see this custom established among the people of Tartary, of Canada, and of other savage nations, it may be doubted, whether it be not rather the effect of their wandering way of life, than of their complexion.

THIS colour proceeds from a mucous substance, which forms a kind of network between the epidermis and the skin. This substance, which



is white in Europeans, brown in people of an olive complexion, and sprinkled over with reddish spots among light-haired or carotty people, is blackish among the Negroes.

THE desire of discovering the causes of this colour, hath given rise to a variety of systems.

THEOLOGY, which hath taken possession of the human mind by opinion; which hath availed itself of the first fears of infancy, to inspire reason with eternal apprehensions; which hath altered every thing, geography, astronomy, philosophy, and history; which hath introduced the marvellous, and the mysterious in every thing, in order to arrogate to itself the right of explaining every thing: theology, after having made a race of men guilty and unfortunate from the fault of Adam, hath made a race of black men, in order to punish the fratricide of his son. The Negroes are the descendants of Cain. If their father was an assassin, it must be allowed, that his posterity have made a severe atonement for his crime; and that the descendants of the pacific Abel, have thoroughly avenged the innocent blood of their father.

REASON hath attempted to explain the colour of the negroes, from consequences deduced from the phænomena of chymistry. According to some naturalists, it is a vitriolic fluid contained in the lymph of the negroes, and being too gross to pass through the pores of the skin, it ferments and unites with the mucous body, which it colours. It is then urged, why is the hair curled, and why are the eyes and teeth of negroes so white?

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for the authors of this system, do not consider, that a vitriolic salt of such power and activity, would at length destroy all organisation. This, however, is as perfect in Negroes, as in the whitest of the human race.

ANATOMY hath thought to have discovered the origin of the blackness of negroes in the principles of generation. Nothing more, it should seem, would be necessary to prove, that Negroes are a particular species of men. For if any thing discriminates the species, or the classes in each species, it is certainly the difference of the semen. But upon considering the matter more attentively, this hath been found to be a mistake, so that this explanation of the colour of Negroes, hath been given up. Neither have the consequences, pretended to be deduced from the difference between their figure and that of other people, appeared more convincing. Some of these forms are owing to the climate, most of them to ancient customs. It hath been conceived, that these barbarians might possibly have formed some extravagant ideas of beauty, according to which they had endeavoured to form their children; that this habit, in process of time, had been turned into nature, so that it was very seldom necessary to have recourse to art, in order to obtain these singular forms.

THERE are other causes of the colour of negroes, more satisfactory than these: the seat of it, as we have observed, is in the *Rete Mucosum*, under the epidermis, or cuticle. The substance of this net-work, which is mucous in the first instance, is afterwards

afterwards changed into a web of vessels, the diameter of which is considerable enough to admit, either a portion of the colouring part of the blood, or of the bile, which is said to have a peculiar tendency towards the skin. From hence proceeds among white people, in whom this *Rete Mucosum* is more lax, the more vivid complexion of the cheeks. From hence also, that yellow or copper-colour, which distinguishes whole nations, while under another climate, it is confined to one person, and produced by disease. The existence of one or of the other of these fluids, is sufficient to colour the negroes, especially if we add, that the epidermis, and the *Rete Mucosum*, is thicker in them; that the blood is blackish, and the bile deeper coloured, and that their sweat, which is more plentiful, and less fluid, must necessarily thicken under the epidermis, and increase the darkness of the colour.

THIS system is also supported by natural philosophy, which observes, that the parts of the body exposed to the sun are most deeply coloured, and that travellers, and people who dwell in the country, and who lead a wandering life; all those, in a word, who live continually in the open air, and under a more burning sky, have darker complexions. Philosophy thinks, from these observations, that the primitive cause of the colour of the negroes may be attributed to the climate, and to the ardour of the sun. There are no Negroes, it is said, except in hot climates; their colour becomes darker in proportion as they approach the equator. It grows lighter at the extremities

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termities of the torrid zone. All the human species, in general, whitens in the snow, and is tanned in the sun. We perceive the different shades from white to black, and those from black to white, marked, as it were, by the parallel degrees which cut the earth in the direction from the equator to the poles. If the zones, contrived by the inventors of the sphere, were represented by real bands, we should see the black ebony colour, insensibly changing to the right and left as far as the tropics, and from thence the brown colour would be seen to grow paler and lighter as far as the polar circles, by shades of white continually increasing in clearness.

As the shades of black are, however, deeper upon the western coasts of Africa, than in other regions perhaps as much heated, the ardour of the sun must certainly be combined with other causes, which have an equal influence upon organisation. Such of the Europeans as have made the longest residence in those countries, attribute this greater degree of blackness to the nitrous, sulphureous, or metallic particles, that are continually exhaling from the surface or from the bowels of the earth, to the custom of going naked, to the proximity of burning sands, and to other particulars which do not occur elsewhere in the same degree.

THE circumstance that seems to confirm the opinion, that the colour of the negroes is the effect of the climate, of the air, of the water, and of the food of Guinea, is, that this colour changes when the inhabitants are removed into

other



other countries. The children they procreate in America, are not so black as their parents were. After each generation, the difference becomes more palpable. It is possible, that after a numerous succession of generations, the men come from Africa, would not be distinguished from those of the country into which they may have been transplanted.

ALTHOUGH the opinion, which ascribes to the climate the first cause of the colour of the inhabitants of Guinea, be almost generally adopted, all the objections that may be urged against this system, have not yet been answered. This is one proof, added to a multitude of others, of the uncertainty of our knowledge.

AND, indeed, how is it possible that our knowledge should not be uncertain and circumscribed? Our organs are so feeble, and our means so insufficient, our studies so much interrupted, our life so much agitated, and the object of our inquiries is of so immense an extent! Let naturalists, philosophers, chymists, and accurate observers of nature in all her works, persevere in their labours incessantly; and after ages of united and continual efforts, the secrets of nature which they will have discovered, when compared to her immense treasures, will be no more than as a drop of water to the vast ocean. The rich man sleeps, and the learned man is watchful, but he is poor. His discoveries are matters of too little concern to government, to encourage him to solicit assistance, or to hope for reward. More than one Aristotle would be found among us, but where

is the monarch who would say to him; my power is at thy disposal, make a free use of my riches, and persevere in thy labours? Tell us, thou celebrated Buffon, tell us, to what height of perfection thou wouldst have carried thine immortal work, hadst thou lived under an Alexander?

THE contemplative man is sedentary, and the traveller is either ignorant or deceitful. The man on whom genius hath been bestowed, despises minute details and experiments; and the man who makes experiments, is almost always destitute of genius. Among the multitude of agents which nature employs, we are only acquainted with some, and even these we have but an imperfect knowledge of. Who shall determine, whether the others are not of such a nature as to elude for ever our senses, as not to be wrought upon by our instruments; and not to be submitted to our observations and experiments? The nature of those two principles that compose the universe, spirit and matter, will be ever a mystery.

AMONG the natural qualities of bodies, there is not a single one, upon which multitudes of experiments are not yet remaining to be tried; and it is even a matter of doubt, whether all these experiments are feasible. How long shall we be reduced to the necessity of forming conjectures, which are one day brought forth, and the next refuted? Who shall restrain that almost invincible propensity to analogy, a mode of judging so seducing, so convenient, and so fallacious? No  
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sooner have we collected a few facts, than we hasten to build up a system, which leads the multitude, and suspends our researches after truth. The time employed in forming an hypothesis, and the time employed in refuting it, are both equally lost. The sciences of calculation, that are so satisfactory to self-love, which delights in overcoming difficulties; and to the accurate man who is fond of exact inferences, will continue, but with little advantage, in the common usages of life. Religion, which looks with disdain upon the labours of a being in a chrysalis, and which is secretly alarmed at the progress of reason, will multiply idle persons, and retard the labours of the industrious by fear or by scruples. In proportion as a science advances, the improvement of it becomes more difficult, the greater number become disgusted, and the science is no longer cultivated, unless by a few persevering men, who still attend to it, either from habit, or from the expectation, well or ill founded, of acquiring fame; till at length ridicule interferes, and the man is pointed at as a fool or a madman, who flatters himself that he shall overcome a difficulty, which some celebrated persons may not have been able to solve. Thus it is, that his cotemporaries endeavour to conceal their apprehension of his being really successful.

In all ages, and among all nations, we have seen some studies prevailing, which were afterwards neglected and succeeded by others in a kind of regular order. This fickleness, and disgust, are not the defects of one man alone; they are the vice of the most numerous and most enlightened

lightened societies. It should seem as if the arts and sciences had their periods of fashion.

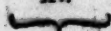
We have begun by having erudite men. After these came the poets and orators. To the poets and orators succeeded metaphysicians, who gave way to geometers, and these again to natural philosophers, which in their turn have been replaced by naturalists and chymists. The turn for natural history seems to be upon the decline. We are now entirely absorbed in questions of government, of legislation, of morality, of politics, and of commerce. If I might be allowed to hazard a prophecy, I should predict, that the minds of men will incessantly be turned towards history, an immense career, in which philosophy hath not yet made any advances.

For, in fact, if from that infinite multitude of volumes, we were to tear out the pages bestowed upon great assassins, who are called conquerors, or reduce the accounts of them to a few pages, which even they scarce deserve, what would there be remaining? Who is it that hath spoken to us of the climate, of the soil, of productions, of quadrupeds, of birds, of fish, of plants, of fruits, of minerals, of manners, of customs, of superstitions, of prejudices, of sciences, of arts, of commerce, of government, and of laws? What do we know of a multitude of ancient nations, that can be of the least use to modern ones? Both their wisdom and their folly are equally lost to us. Their annals never give us any information upon those points, which it most concerns us to know; upon the true glory of a sovereign, upon the basis of the strength



strength of nations, upon the felicity of the people, upon the duration of empires. Let those beautiful addresses of a general to his soldiers upon the point of action, serve as models of eloquence to the rhetorician; there can be no objection to this; but were I to get them by heart, I should neither become more equitable, nor more firm, nor more informed, nor a better man. The time draws near, when reason, justice, and truth, shall snatch out of the hands of ignorance and flattery, the pen which they have holden but for too long a time. Tremble, you who delude men with falsehoods, or who make them groan under the yoke of oppression. Sentence is going to be passed upon you.

THERE are but two seasons know'n in Guinea. The most wholesome, and the most agreeable one begins in April, and ends in October. Then it never rains; but thick vapours, which cover the horizon, intercept the rays of the sun, and moderate the ardour of them; and every night there are dews that fall in sufficient quantities to keep up the vegetation of plants. During the rest of the year, the heats are excessive, and would perhaps be insupportable, were it not for the rains which succeed each other with great rapidity. Unfortunately, nature hath seldom disposed the territory, so as to favour the running off of these waters when too plentiful; and art hath never interfered to assist nature. Hence the origin of so many morasses in this part of the globe. They are most commonly fatal to strangers, whom their avidity leads into the vicinity of them.

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XI.

Nature of  
the soil and  
coasts of  
Guinea,

them. The natives of the country, by kindling fires every night near their dwellings, purify the corrupt air, to which they are moreover accustomed from their infancy. The little varieties which the north and south of the line may exhibit, do not invalidate the accuracy of these observations.

FROM the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, as far as Senegal, the land is entirely barren. A long band of the deserts of Sahara, which extends from the Atlantic Ocean as far as Egypt, to the south of all the states of Barbary, occupies this immense space. Some Moorish families live in the midst of these burning sands, in a few places where springs, which are very scarce, have been found, and where it hath been possible to plant palm-trees, and gather dates. Their chief employment consists in collecting the gums, which have attracted the attention of all Europe upon that country. These Moors carry to Upper Guinea, and principally to Bambouk, a great quantity of salt, in exchange for which they receive gold, and sometimes slaves.

THE banks of the Niger, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, and those of some less considerable rivers, which flow in that long space that intervenes between these principal rivers, would prove extremely fertile if they were cultivated. The care of flocks constitutes almost the sole employment of the inhabitants. They are fond of mare's milk, which is their principal nourishment; and travel but little, because they have no wants to induce them to leave their country.

THE

THE inhabitants of Cape Monte, environed on every side by sands, form a nation entirely separated from the rest of Africa. In the rice of their marshes consists all their nourishment and their sole riches. Of this they sell a small quantity to the Europeans, for which they receive in exchange brandy and hard-ware.

FROM the Cape of Palmas to the river Volta, the inhabitants are traders and husbandmen. They are husbandmen, because their land, though stony, abundantly requites the necessary labour and expence of clearing it. They are traders, because they have behind them nations which furnish them with gold, copper, ivory, and slaves; and because nothing obstructs a continued communication between the people of the inland country and those of the coast. It is the sole country in Africa, where, throughout a long space, there are no deserts or deep rivers to obstruct the traveller, and where water and the means of subsistence may be found.

BETWEEN the river of Volta and that of Calbary, the coast is flat, fertile, populous, and cultivated. The country, which extends from Calbary to Gabon is very different. Almost totally covered with thick forests, producing little fruit and no corn, it may be said to be rather inhabited by wild beasts than by men. Though the rains be there very frequent and copious, as they must be under the Equator, the land is so sandy, that immediately after the showers are fallen, there remains not the least appearance of moisture.

To the south of the line, and as far as Zara, the coast presents an agreeable prospect. Low at it's beginning, it gradually rises, and exhibits a scene of cultivated fields, intermixed with woods always verdant, and of meadows covered with palm-trees.

FROM Zara to Coanza, and still further, the coast is in general high and craggy. In the interior parts of this country is an elevated plain, the soil of which is composed of a large, thick, and fertile sand.

BEYOND Coanza, and the Portuguese settlements, a barren region intervenes, of above two hundred leagues in extent, which is terminated by the country of the Hottentots. In this long space, there are no inhabitants know'n except the Cimbebes, with whom no intercourse is kept up.

THE varieties, observable on the shores of the west of Africa, do not prevent them from enjoying a very extraordinary, and, perhaps, a singular advantage. On this immense coast, those tremendous rocks are no where seen, which are so alarming to the navigator. The sea is universally calm, and the anchorage secure. Were it not for these advantages, it would be difficult to remain there, because there are very few harbours, and because the ships are obliged to anchor out at sea, on account of the sand banks, which are almost contiguous to each other.

THE winds and currents, during six months of the year, from April to November, have nearly the same direction. To the south of the line, the  
south-



south-east wind predominates, and the direction of the currents is towards the north; and to the north of the line, the east wind prevails, and the direction of the currents is towards the north-east. During the six other months, storms, by intervals, change the direction of the wind, but it no longer blows with the same violence: the spring of the air seems to be relaxed. The cause of this variation appears to influence the direction of the currents: to the north of the line they tend to the south-west, beyond the line to the south.

THE revolutions which must have happened in the north of Africa, as well as in the other parts of the globe, are entirely unknown, and it was impossible it should be otherwise, in a region where the art of writing hath never penetrated. No tradition hath even been preserved, which might serve as a basis to conjectures well or ill founded. When the people of these regions are asked, why they have suffered the remembrance of their fathers actions to be buried in oblivion; they answer, that it is of little consequence to be informed in what manner the dead have lived; that the material thing is, that the living should be virtuous. So indifferent are they about the past time, that they neglect even to keep an account of their annual revolutions. This would be, say they, to load one's memory with a useless calculation, since it would not preserve us from death, and could not inform us how long we have to live. In speaking, therefore, of this part of the world, we are obliged to count from the epochas of the arrival of the Europeans upon these shores.

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We must even confine ourselves to the coasts, since no traveller of any credit, hath ever penetrated into the inland parts of the country; and since our navigators have scarce extended their inquiries beyond the harbours where they took in their cargoes.

ALL their accounts affirm, that the know'n parts of this region are subject to an arbitrary government. Whether the despotic sovereign ascend the throne by right of birth, or by election, the people have no other law but his will.

BUT what will seem extraordinary to the inhabitants of Europe, where the great number of hereditary monarchies obstructs the tranquillity of elective governments, and the prosperity of all free states, is, that in Africa, the countries which are the least liable to revolutions, are those which have preserved the right of electing their chiefs. This is usually an old man, whose wisdom is generally know'n. The manner in which this choice is made, is very simple; but it is only suited to very small states. In three days time, the people, by mutual consent, meet at the house of that citizen who appears to them the most proper person to be their sovereign. If the suffrages be divided, he who hath obtained the greatest number of them, names on the fourth day one of those who have had fewer voices than himself. Every freeman hath a right to vote. There are even some tribes where the women enjoy this privilege.

SUCH is, excepting the hereditary kingdoms of Benin and Juda, the manner in which that little group of states, that are to the north of the line, is

formed.

formed. To the south we meet with Mayumba and Cilingo, where chiefs are elected from among the ministers of religion; and with the empires of Loango and Congo, where the crown is perpetual in the male line, by the female side; that is, the eldest son of the king's eldest sister inherits the throne when it becomes vacant. These people believe, that a child is much more certainly the son of his mother, than of the man whom she marries: they trust rather to the time of delivery, which they see, than to that of conception, of which they are not witnesses.

THESE nations live in a total ignorance of that art so revered among us, under the name of politics. They do not, however, neglect to observe some of it's formalities. The custom of sending embassies is familiar to them, whether to solicit aid against a powerful enemy, or to request a mediator in their differences, or to congratulate others upon their successes, upon the birth of a child, or upon the falling of a shower after a great drought. The envoy must never stay longer than a day at the place of his mission; nor travel during the night in the states of a foreign prince. He is preceded by a drum, which announces from afar his dignity, and he is accompanied by five or six friends. In those places where he stops to refresh himself, he is received with respect; but he cannot depart before the sun rises, and without the ceremony of his host assembling some persons, to witness that no accident hath happened to him. In other respects, these people are strangers to any negotiations that are in the least complicated. They never

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never enter into any stipulations for the past, nor for the future; but confine themselves wholly to the present. Hence we may conclude, that these nations cannot have any regular or settled connections with the other parts of the globe.

THEIR system of war is as little complicated as that of their politics. None of these governments retain troops in pay. Every freeman is by condition a soldier. All take up arms to guard their frontiers, or to make excursions in quest of booty. The officers are chosen by the soldiers, and the choice is confirmed by the prince. The army marches, and most frequently the hostilities, which are begun in the morning, are terminated in the evening. At least, the incursion never continues for any length of time; for as they have no magazines, the want of subsistence obliges them to retire. It would prove a great misfortune to these people, if they were taught the art of keeping the field for a fortnight together.

THE desire of extending their territories is not the cause of the disturbances which frequently throw these countries into confusion. An insult committed in a ceremony, a clandestine or violent robbery, the rape of a daughter, these are the ordinary occasions of a war. The day after the battle, each side redeems their respective prisoners. They are exchanged for merchandise, or for slaves. No portion of the territory is ever ceded, the whole belongs to the community, whose chief fixes the extent which every person is to cultivate, in order to reap the fruits of it.

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THIS manner of terminating differences is not merely that of little states, whose chiefs are too wise to aspire after enlarging their dominions, and too much advanced in years not to be fond of peace. Great empires are obliged to conform to these principles, with neighbours much weaker than themselves. The sovereign hath never any standing army, and though he disposes at pleasure of the lives of the governors of his provinces, he prescribes them no rules of administration. These are petty princes, who, for fear of being suspected of ambition, and punished with death, live in concord with the elective colonies which surround them. Unanimity between the more considerable powers and the smaller states, is preserved as much by the great authority the prince hath over his subjects, as by the impossibility there is of his exerting it at pleasure. He can only strike a single blow, or cause a single head to be cut off. He may, indeed, command that his lieutenant should be assassinated, and the whole province will obey his orders; but were he to command all the inhabitants of a province to be put to death, he would find no one ready to execute his orders; nor would he be able to excite any other province to take up arms against that which disobeyed him. His power against individuals is unlimited; but he can do very little against the collective body.

ANOTHER reason which prevents the small states from being enslaved by the great ones, is, that these people annex no idea to the glory of conquests. The only person who appears to have been

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been animated with it, was a slave broker, who from his infancy had frequented the European vessels, and who in his riper years had made a voyage to Portugal. Every thing he saw and heard, fired his imagination, and taught him that a great name was frequently acquired by being the cause of great calamities. At his return into his country, he felt himself greatly humiliated at being obliged to obey people less enlightened than himself. His intrigues raised him to the dignity of chief of the Acanis, and he prevailed on them to take up arms against their neighbours. Nothing could oppose his valour, and his dominion extended over more than an hundred leagues of coast, of which Anamabou was the center. At his death no one dared to succeed him: and all the supports of his authority failing at once, every thing returned to it's former situation.

Modes of  
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THE Christian and Mohammedan religions seem to have taken possession of the two extremities of that part of the west of Africa which is frequented by the Europeans. The mussulmen of Barbary have carried their religious system to the people of the Cape de Verd Islands, who have extended it still further. In proportion as these religious opinions have been distant from their source, they have undergone so great an alteration, that each kingdom, each village, each family, have maintained a different system. Excepting circumcision, which is universal, it would scarcely be imagined that these people professed the same worship. This religion does not penetrate beyond the

the cape of Monte, the inhabitants of which have no communication with their neighbours.

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WHAT the Arabs had done to the north of the line for the Coran, the Portugueze afterwards did to the south for the Gospel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, they established it from the country of Benguela to Zara. A mode of worship, which offered sure and easy means for the expiation of all crimes, was perfectly agreeable to the taste of nations, whose religion did not afford them such comfortable prospects. If it was afterwards proscribed in several states, it was owing to the excesses of those who propagated it, which drew upon it this disgrace. It hath even been totally disguised in the countries where it hath been preserved; a few trifling ceremonies are the only remains of it.

THE coasts which are in the center have preserved some local superstitions, the origin of which must be very antient. They consist in the worship of that innumerable multitude of divinities or Fetiches, which every person makes after his own fancy, and for his own use; in the belief of auguries, trials by fire and boiling water, and in the power of Gris-Gris. There are some superstitions more dangerous; I mean that blind confidence which they repose in the priests, who are the ministers and promoters of them. The correspondence which they are supposed to hold with the evil spirit, makes them considered as the arbiters of the barrenness and fertility of the country. On this account the first fruits are always offered to them. All their other errors have

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have a social tendency, and conspire to render man more humane and peaceable.

THE country is generally ill peopled. Habitations are seldom found any where but near rivers, lakes, and fountains. In those countries, men are induced to live in a social state, rather from the ties of consanguinity, than from any reciprocal wants. Accordingly, small hamlets are found in the same town, and sometimes in the same village, which are so many families, over which a patriarch presides.

THERE are no traces to be found in these settlements, of any great progress in civilization. The houses are constructed with branches of trees, or with rushes fastened to stakes, which are driven far enough into the ground to resist the winds. Windows are seldom seen in them. The covering of the house consists only of leaves, and if they can be obtained, of the leaves of the palm-tree, which are more proper than others to bear the inclemency of the seasons. The huts of the capital, those even of the Despot, are scarce distinguished from the rest, except by their extent. These people are not prevented from forming other constructions, by a want of the best and the finest wood, which they possess in abundance, nor of earth proper to make bricks; but they have never had an idea, that it was necessary to take so much trouble to lodge themselves.

THE furniture is consistent with the dwelling. In the towns, in the country, in the habitation of the prince, as well as that of the meanest citizens, it consists only of baskets, a few earthen pots,



pots, and some utensils made out of gourds. The only difference is, that the poor sleep upon mats, and the rich upon European carpets.

THEIR food is likewise the same. Rice, cassava, maize, yams, or potatoes, according to the nature of the soil; wild fruits, palm-wine, game and fish, which all persons get according to their inclination: such is the food which they all live upon, the slaves not excepted.

A GIRDLE tied across their loins, and which we call a *pagne*, is the only clothing of both sexes. Glass beads, which are brought to them, and sold very dear, compose the ornaments of most of the women, and of the few men who wish to make themselves remarkable.

THE arts are very trifling in these regions. None are know'n but those which are commonly found in a rising society, and even those are in their infancy. The ingenuity of a carpenter consists only in building huts. The blacksmith hath no other tools than a small hammer and a wooden anvil, to work the iron which is sent from Europe. The potter makes some clumsy vessels, and some pipes of clay, without the assistance of a mould. The *pagnes* are made only of a plant, which grows naturally, and requires no preparation: the length of it constitutes the breadth of the piece. The weaver works it upon his lap, without either loom or shuttle, by passing the tram with his fingers between each of the threads of the chain, in the same manner as our basket-makers make their hurdles. The inhabitants of the country carry salt to the most distant places;

and separate it from the sea water by means of a great fire. The slaves, and a small number of free men, are employed in these sedentary labours; the rest live in a state of habitual indolence. If they should be roused from this lethargy by some caprice, or by wearisomeness, it is only to go a hunting or a fishing. They never demean themselves so far as to cultivate the ground. Agriculture, considered as the meanest of occupations, is left to the women, to whom they allow no greater comfort, than the liberty of resting one day, after three days of excessive fatigue.

THE people of Guinea have manners very similar to each other. Polygamy is authorized throughout the whole extent of this vast region. It must, however, be very uncommonly practised, since all the free men, and most of the slaves, find companions for themselves. The young men consult nothing but their own inclination in their marriage; but their sisters must have the consent of their mothers. The marriage tie is generally respected; nothing but adultery can dissolve it, and this is very uncommon. On the coast of Angola only, the daughters of the chiefs of the state are allowed to choose the husband they like best, even if he should be engaged; they may prevent him from taking another wife; they may be divorced from him when he displeases them; and may even cause his head to be stricken off, if he be inconstant. These princesses, if they may be so called, enjoy their privileges with a disdainful haughtiness, and a great

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deal of severity, as if they meant to be revenged upon the unfortunate man who is under their authority, for the species of slavery to which their sex is condemned.

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THEIR fate is indeed deplorable. Besides being employed in the labours of the field, the women are also obliged to attend to the domestic employments. It rests upon them alone to provide for the subsistence, and to supply all the wants of their families. They never appear before their husbands but in a humiliating posture; they always wait upon him at table, and retire afterwards to feed upon what he either could not, or would not eat. This state of labour and humiliation is not confined to the common people; the women in the towns, the wives of the rich, of the great, and even of the sovereigns, are in the same condition; they derive neither comfort nor prerogative from the rank or the opulence of their husbands.

WHILE they waste in the service of their tyrants the small proportion of strength bestowed upon them by nature, these barbarians spend their useless days in a state of total inaction. Assembled under thick foliages, they pass their time in smoking, singing, or dancing. The same amusements are repeated every day; and their pleasures are never interrupted by disputes. A decency and propriety prevail in them, which could not reasonably be expected from a people so little enlightened.

THEIR disinterestedness is a no less surprising circumstance. If we except the coasts, where the

example of our robberies have made them robbers, a great indifference for riches is observed in all parts. Even the wisest among them seldom think of the morrow; and, accordingly, hospitality is the virtue universally practised. The man who should not divide the game or the fish he had caught with his neighbours, his relations, and his friends, would draw upon himself the public contempt. With them, the reproach of avarice is beyond any other. It is bestowed upon the Europeans, who give nothing without a compensation; which induces these Africans to call them *close fisted*.

SUCH is the general character of the people of Guinea. It now remains to speak of the customs which distinguish the inhabitants of one country those of another.

ON the banks of the Niger, the women are generally handsome, if beauty may be said to consist in symmetry of proportion and not in colour. Modest, affable, and faithful, an air of innocence appears in their looks, and their language is an indication of their bashfulness. The names of Zilia, Calypso, Fanny, Zama, which seem to be names of voluptuousness, are pronounced with an inflection of voice, of the softness and sweetness of which our organs are not susceptible. The men are of a proper size, their skin is as black as ebony, and their features and countenances pleasing. The habit of taming horses, and hunting wild beasts, gives them an air of dignity. They do not easily put up with an affront, but the example of those animals

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they have reared, inspires them with boundless gratitude for a master who treats them with indulgence. It is impossible to find servants more attentive, more sober, and who have stronger attachments; but they do not make good husbandmen; because their body is not habituated to stoop and bend towards the ground, in order to clear it.

THE complexion of the Africans degenerates towards the East. The people of this climate are strong, but short. They have an air of strength, which is denoted by firm muscles; and the features of their faces are spread out, but have no expression. The figures impressed on their foreheads and on their cheeks increase their natural deformity. An ungrateful soil, which is not improveable by culture, hath forced them to have recourse to fishing, though the sea, which they can scarce venture upon on account of a bar that runs along the coast, seems to divert them from it. Thus repulsed, as it were, by these two elements, they have sought for aid among adjacent nations more favoured by nature; from whom they have derived their subsistence by selling them salt. A spirit of traffic hath been diffused among them since the arrival of the Europeans; because ideas are unfolded in all men in proportion to the variety of objects that are presented to them; and because more combinations are necessary to barter a slave for several sorts of merchandize, than to sell a bushel of salt. Though they be well adapted to all employments where strength only is required, yet they are unfit for the internal

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duties of domestic life. This condition of life is repugnant to their customs, according to which they are paid separately for every thing they do. And, indeed, the reciprocation of daily labour and daily recompence is, perhaps, one of the best incentives to industry among all men. The wives of these mercantile Negroes have neither the amiableness, modesty, discretion, nor beauty of the women of the Niger, and they appear to have less sensibility. On comparing the two nations, it might, perhaps, be imagined, that the one consisted of the lowest class of people in a polished and civilized city, and that the other had enjoyed the advantages of superior education. Their language is a strong indication of their character. The accents of the one have an extreme sweetness, those of the other are harsh and dry like the soil they inhabit. Their vivacity, even in pleasures, resembles the furious transports of anger.

BEYOND the river Volta, in Benin, and in the other countries, know'n under the general name of the Gold Coast, the people have a smooth skin, and are of a dark black colour; their teeth are beautiful; they are of a middling stature, but well shaped, and have a haughty countenance. Their faces, though agreeable enough, would be much more so, if the women were not used to scar them, and the men to burn their foreheads. The basis of their creed is a metempsychosis of a peculiar kind: they believe, that in whatever place they remove to, or wherever they are transported, they shall return after their death, whether caused by

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the laws of nature, or by their own hands, to their native country. This conviction constitutes their happiness; because they consider their country as the most delightful abode in the universe. This pleasing error conduces to humanize them. Foreigners, who reside in this climate, are treated with respectful civility, from a persuasion that they are come there to receive the recompence due to their good conduct. These people have a disposition to cheerfulness not observable in the neighbouring nations; they are inclined to labour, have principles of equity seldom altered by circumstances, and a great facility of adapting themselves to foreign manners. They are tenacious of their commercial customs, even when they are not advantageous to them. The method of trafficking with them was, for a long time, the same that had been at first practised among them. The first vessel that arrived, disposed of it's cargo before another was permitted to trade. Each had it's turn. The commodities were sold at the same fixed price to all. It is but very lately that the nation had resolved to avail itself of the advantages it might derive from the competition between the European nations frequenting it's ports.

THE people situated between the line and Zara, have all a great resemblance to each other. They are well made. Their bodies are less robust than those of the inhabitants to the north of the equator; and though there be some marks on their faces, none of those scars are to be perceived which are so shocking at first sight. Their

feasts are accompanied with military sports, which revive the idea of our ancient tournaments; with this difference, that in Europe they constituted the exercises of a warlike nation, whereas in Africa they are the amusements of a timid people. The women are not admitted to these public diversions. Assembled together in certain houses, they spend their day in private, and no men are ever admitted into their society. The pride of rank is the strongest passion of these people, who are naturally peaceable. A certain degree of ceremony obtains both at the court of princes and in private life. Upon the most trivial occurrences, they hasten to their friends, either to congratulate them or to condole with them. A marriage occasions visiting for three months. The funeral obsequies of a person of distinction continue sometimes two years. Those who were connected to him, in any degree, carry his remains through several provinces. The crowd gathers as they proceed, and no person departs, till the corps is deposited in the tomb, with all the demonstrations of the deepest sorrow. So determined a taste for ceremony, hath proved favourable to superstition, and superstition hath promoted a spirit of indolence.

FROM Zara to the river of Coanza, the ancient customs still remain; but they are blended with a confused mixture of European manners, which are not to be found elsewhere. It is probable that the Portugueze, who have large settlements in this country, and who were desirous of introducing the Christian religion among them, had a greater intercourse

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intercourse with them than other nations, who having only factories to the north of the line, have been entirely engaged in carrying on their commerce.

THE reader need not be told, that all we have related concerning the people of Guinea, ought only to be applied to that class which, in all countries, stamps the character of a nation. The inferior orders and slaves are further removed from this resemblance, in proportion as they are debased or degraded by their occupations or their conditions. The most discerning inquirers have, however, imagined that the difference of conditions did not produce in this people varieties so distinguishable as we find in the states which are situated between the Elbe and the Tiber, which exhibit nearly the same extent of coast as the distance between the Niger and the Coanza. The further men depart from nature, the less must they resemble one another. Nature is a straight line, from which there are various ways of deviating. The counsels of nature are speedy and tolerably uniform; but the suggestions arising from taste, from fancy, from caprice, from personal interest, from circumstances, from passions, from the accidental events of health or sickness, and even from dreams, are so numerous and so various, that they are not, neither can they ever be exhausted. One violent man is sufficient to lead a thousand more astray, from motives of condescension, flattery, or imitation. If a woman of rank be desirous of concealing some natural defect, she immediately contrives some-

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something for that purpose. This is soon adopted by her companions, though they have not the same reason for it. Thus it is, that from one eccentric circle to another, a fashion is extended, and becomes national. This instance is sufficient to explain an infinite number of singularities, which our sagacity would in vain be tortured in finding out the reasons of, in the wants, the pains, or pleasures of mankind. The diversity of civil and moral institutions, which often are neither more combined, nor less casual, also necessarily occasions a difference in the moral character and in the natural customs of men, which is unknown to societies less complicated. Besides, nature being more powerful under the torrid than under the temperate zone, does not permit the influence of manners to exert itself so strongly. Men in these countries bear a greater similitude to one another, because they owe every thing to nature, and very little to art. In Europe, an extensive and diversified commerce, varying and multiplying the enjoyments, the fortunes, and several conditions of men, adds likewise to the differences which the climate, the laws, and the common prejudices have established among active and laborious nations.

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IN Guinea, trade hath never been able to cause a material alteration in the manners of it's inhabitants. It formerly consisted only of certain exchanges of salt and dried fish, which were consumed by the nations remote from the coast. These gave in return stuffs made of a kind of thread, which was only a woody substance,

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closely adhering to the inner side of the bark of a tree peculiar to these climates. The air hardens it, and renders it fit for every kind of weaving. Bonnets, scarfs, and aprons to serve for girdles, are made of it, which vary in shape according to the particular mode of each nation. The natural colour of the thread is a pale grey. The dew, which bleaches our flax, gives it a citron colour, which rich people prefer. The black dye, generally used among the people, is extracted from the bark of the tree of which this thread is made, by simple infusion in water.

THE first Europeans, who frequented the western coasts of Africa, fixed a price on wax, ivory, gum, and wood for dying, which, before that time, had been thought of little value. A small quantity of gold, which had been formerly carried off by caravans from the states of Barbary, was likewise given in exchange to their navigators. This gold came from the inland parts, and chiefly from Bambouk, an aristocratic state, under the twelfth and thirteenth degrees of north latitude, and where each village was governed by a chief called Farim. This rich metal is so common in this country, that it is found almost indiscriminately every where, merely by scraping the surface of the earth, which is clayish, light, and mixed with sand. When the mine is very rich, it is digged only to the depth of a few feet, and never deeper; though it hath been observed, that the lower it was digged, the more gold it afforded. The people are too indolent to pursue a toil which constantly becomes more fatiguing, and too

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too ignorant to prevent the inconveniences it would be attended with. Their negligence and their folly are so extraordinary, that in washing the gold, in order to separate it from the earth, they only preserve the larger pieces: the light parts pass away with the water, which flows down an inclined plain.

THE inhabitants of Bambouk do not work these mines at all times, nor are they at liberty to do it when they choose. They are obliged to wait till private or public wants determine the Farims to grant this permission. When it is proclaimed, all who are able to avail themselves of this advantage meet at the appointed place. When their work is finished, a division is made. Half of the gold goes to the lord, and the remainder is equally distributed among the labourers. Those who want gold at any other time than that of the general digging, search for it in the beds of the torrents, where it is very common.

SEVERAL Europeans have endeavoured to penetrate into a region which contains so many treasures. Two or three of them, who had succeeded in approaching the coast, were unmercifully repulsed. M. David, governor of the French in Senegal, in 1740, thought of sending a prince of that country, in order to lay waste the borders of the Felemé, from whence Bambouk received all it's provisions. This unfortunate country was upon the point of being destroyed, in the midst of it's piles of gold, when the author of this calamity proposed to them, that he would send them provisions from Fort Galam, which was only at

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forty leagues distance, if they would consent to receive him, and permit his people to work the mines. These conditions were accepted, and the observance of them was again swor'n to the author of the proposal, who went himself to those provinces four years after; but the treaty produced no effect. Only the remembrance of the hardships that had been endured, and of those that had been apprehended, determined the people to cultivate a soil, which had produced, till then, nothing but metals. It seems that the gold hath been abandoned, and that the attention of all men hath been turned to the slave trade.

THE property which some men have acquired over others in Guinea, is of very high antiquity. It is generally established there, excepting in some small districts, where liberty hath, as it were, retired and is still maintained. No proprietor, however, hath a right to sell a man who is born in a state of servitude. He can only dispose of those slaves whom he gets, either by war, in which every prisoner is a slave unless exchanged, or in lieu of compensation for some injury; or if he hath received them as a testimony of acknowledgment. This law, which seems to be made in favour of one who is born a slave, to indulge him in the enjoyment of his family and of his country, is yet ineffectual, since the Europeans have established luxury on the coasts of Africa. It is every day eluded by concerted quarrels, which two proprietors mutually dis-

semble,

The commerce of Guinea hath been extended by the sale of slaves.

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semble, in order to be reciprocally condemned; each in his turn, to a fine, which is paid in persons born slaves, the disposal of whom is allowed by the sanction of the same law.

CORRUPTION, contrary to it's ordinary progress, hath advanced from private persons to princes. The procuring of slaves hath given frequent occasion to wars, as they are excited in Europe, in order to obtain soldiers. The custom has been established of punishing with slavery, not only those who have attempted the lives or properties of citizens, but those also who were incapable of paying their debts, and those who have violated conjugal faith. This punishment, in process of time, has been inflicted for the most trivial offences, after having been at first reserved only for the greatest crimes. Prohibitions, even of things indifferent, have been constantly multiplied, in order to increase the revenues raised from the fines, by increasing the number of offences. Injustice hath know'n no bounds or restraints. At a great distance from the coast there are chiefs, who give orders for every thing they meet with in the villages around them to be carried off. The children are throw'n into sacks: the men and women are gagged to stifle their cries. If the ravagers should be stopped by a superior force, they are conducted before the prince, who always disowns the commission he hath given, and, under pretence of doing justice, instantly sells his agents to the ships he hath treated with.

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NOTWITHSTANDING these infamous arts, the people of the coast have found it impossible to supply the demands of the merchants. They have experienced what every nation must, that can trade only with it's specie. Slaves are to the commerce of the Europeans in Africa, what gold is in the commerce we carry on in the New World. The heads of the Negroes represent the specie of the state of Guinea. Every day this specie is carried off, and nothing is left them but articles of consumption. Their capital gradually vanishes, because it cannot be renewed, by reason of the speedy consumptions. Thus the trade for blacks would long since have been entirely lost, if the inhabitants of the coasts had not imparted their luxury to the people of the inland countries, from whence they now draw the greatest part of the slaves that are put into our hands. Thus the trade of the Europeans, by gradual advances, hath almost exhausted the only vendible commodities of this nation.

In the space of twenty years this circumstance hath raised the price of slaves almost to four times above the former cost. The reason is this: the slaves are chiefly paid for in merchandize from the East Indies, which hath doubled it's value in Europe. A double quantity of these goods must be given in Africa. Thus the colonies of America, where the sale for blacks is concluded, are obliged to support these several augmentations, and consequently to pay four times more than they formerly did.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this, the distant proprietor who sells his slave, receives a less quantity of merchandize than the person received fifty years ago, who sold his slave in the neighbourhood of the coast. The profits intercepted by passing through different hands, the expences of transport, the imposts, sometimes of three per cent. that must be paid to those princes through whose territories they pass, sink the difference betwixt the sum which the first proprietor receives, and that which the European trader pays. These expences continually increase on account of the great distances of the places where there are still slaves to be sold. The further off the first sale is, the greater will be the difficulties attending the journey. They will become such, that of the sum which the European merchant will be able to pay, there will remain so little to offer to the first seller, that he will rather choose to keep his slave. All trade of this kind will then be at an end. In order, therefore, to support it effectually, our traders must furnish at an exorbitant price, and sell in proportion to the colonies; which, on their part, not being able to dispose of their produce but at a very advanced price, will no longer find a consumption for it. But till that time comes, which is, perhaps, not so distant as the colonists may imagine, they will, without the least remorse, continue to make the lives and labours of the Negroes subservient to their interests. They will find navigators who will hazard the purchasing of them, and these will meet with tyrants who will sell them.

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SLAVE merchants collect themselves into companies, and forming a species of caravans, in the space of two or three hundred leagues they conduct several files of thirty or forty slaves, all laden with water and corn, which are necessary to their subsistence in those barren deserts through which they pass. The manner of securing them without much incommoding their march, is ingeniously contrived. A fork of wood, from eight to nine feet long, is put round the neck of each slave. A pin of iron, riveted, secures the fork at the back part in such a manner that the head cannot disengage itself. The handle of the fork, the wood of which is very heavy, falls before, and so embarrasses the person who is tied to it, that though he hath his arms and legs at liberty, he can neither walk, nor lift up the fork. When they get ready for their march, they range the slaves on the same line, and support and tie the extremity of each fork on the shoulder of the foremost slave, and proceed in this manner from one to another, till they come to the first, the extremity of whose fork is carried by one of the guides. Few restraints are imposed that are not felt by the persons who impose them. In order that these traders may enjoy the refreshment of sleep without uneasiness, they tie the arms of every slave to the tail of the fork which he carries. In this condition he can neither run away nor make any attempt to recover his liberty. These precautions have been found indispensable, because, if the slave can but break his chain, he becomes free. The public faith, which secures to the proprietor the possession of

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his slave, and which at all times delivers him up into his hands, is silent with regard to a slave and a trader who exercises the most contemptible of all professions.

READER, while thou art perusing this horrid account, is not thy soul filled with the same indignation, as I experience in writing it? Dost thou not, in imagination, rush with fury upon those infamous conductors? Dost thou not break those forks with which these unfortunate people are confined? and dost thou not restore them to their liberty?

GREAT numbers of slaves arrive together, especially when they come from distant countries. This arrangement is necessary, in order to diminish the expence which is unavoidable in conducting them. The interval between one journey and another, which by this system of œconomy is already made too distant, may become still greater by particular circumstances. The most usual are the rains, which cause the rivers to overflow, and put a stop to this trade. The season most favourable for travelling in the interior parts of Africa, is from February to September; and it is from September to March, that the return of these slave traders produces the greatest plenty of this traffic on the coasts.

Account of  
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THE trade of the Europeans is carried on to the south and north of the line. The first coast begins at Cape Blanco, very near this are Arguin and Portendic. The Portuguese discovered them in 1444, and settled there the next year. They were deprived of them in 1638 by the Dutch, who,

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who, in their turn, ceded them to the English in 1666, from whom they recovered them some months after. Lewis XIV. again drove them away in the beginning of 1678, and contented himself with having the works destroyed.

At this period, Frederic William, that great elector of Brandenburg, was meditating upon the means of improving his dominions, which till then had been incessantly ruined by wars, which were seldom interrupted. Some Dutch merchants, discontented with the monopoly, which excluded them from the western parts of Africa, persuaded him to build forts in this immense district, and to have slaves purchased there, which would be sold to advantage in the New World. This scheme was thought to be useful, and the company formed to carry it on obtained, in 1682, three settlements on the Gold Coast, and one in the Island of Arguin, three years afterwards. This new body was successively ruined by the oppositions of the rival nations, by the unfaithfulness or the inexperience of its agents, and by the depredations of the pirates. As nothing but the name of them was remaining, the King of Prussia sold, in 1717 to the Dutch Company, possessions which had been long useless to him. These republicans had not yet taken possession of Arguin, when it was again attacked in 1721, and taken by the orders of the court of Versailles, who had been maintained in that conquest by the treaty of Nimeguen. The Dutch soon after planted their flag there, but were obliged to take it down again in 1724.



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FROM that period, to 1763, France remained in quiet possession of these forts. The British ministry, who had required the sacrifice of the Niger, insisted, besides, that they should be dependent upon it. This pretension does not appear to us to be well founded. It is only necessary to see the grants made to the societies, which have successively exercised the monopoly in Senegal, to be convinced that Arguin and Portendic, were never comprehended in their charter. England, however, doth not permit the French, nor other navigators, to approach these latitudes; even it's own subjects go there no more; since those precious gums, from which they have acquired some importance, have been conveyed by the Niger.

THIS river, which is more commonly called Senegal, is very considerable, is reckoned by some geographers to have more than eight hundred leagues of extent. It hath been proved, that from June to November, it is navigable throughout a space of three hundred and twenty leagues. The bar, which runs across the mouth of the river, prohibits the entrance of it to all ships which draw more than eight or nine feet of water. The other ships are obliged to cast anchor very near this spot, in an exceeding good bottom. Their cargoes are brought to them in light vessels from Fort St. Lewis, which is built in a small island near the sea. They consist only of the gums which have been collected during the year, and of twelve or fifteen hundred slaves. The gums are sent from the left shore, and the slaves

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slaves from the right, which is the only one that can be said to be peopled, since the tyrants of Morocco have extended their ferocious sway to these regions.

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SINCE the peace of 1763 hath assured to Great Britain the possession of Senegal, the conquest of which was made by it's navy during the course of the war, the French are confined to the coast which begins at Cape Blanco, and terminates at the river Gambia. Although they have not been disturbed in the claim they have to the right of an exclusive trade through that immense space, yet they have scarcely received annually from their factories of Zoal, Portudal, and Albreda, three or four hundred slaves. Goree, which is only a league distant from the continent, and which is no more than four hundred toises in length, and one hundred in breadth, is the chief of these wretched settlements. During the hostilities begun in 1756, this island, which hath a good harbour, and which may be easily defended, fell into the hands of the English; but the subsequent treaties restored it to it's antient masters.

TILL the year 1772, this country had been open to all the traders of the nation. At this period, a restless and turbulent man persuaded some credulous citizens, that it would be an easy matter to get to Bambouk, and to other mines of equal wealth. An ignorant administration encouraged the illusion, by granting an exclusive privilege; and considerable sums were expended in pursuit of this chimerical prospect. The direction of this monopoly, two years after, passed into the

hands of more prudent men, who confined themselves to the purchase of the slaves that are to be brought to Cayenne, where the company have obtained an immense territory.

THE river Gambia would be navigable for the space of two hundred leagues for vessels of a considerable size; but they all stop at the distance of eight or ten leagues from the mouth of that river at Fort James. This settlement, which hath been conquered, ransomed, and pillaged seven or eight times in the course of a century, is situated in an island, which is not a mile in circumference. The English trade annually there for three thousand slaves, which come mostly, as at Senegal, from very distant and inland countries.

THE ten Cape de Verd Islands, at no great distance from the shores, and of which Sant-Yago is the principal, were discovered by the Portuguese about the year 1449. This small Archipelago, which, though much divided, hilly and not well watered, would be able to furnish all the productions of the New World, scarce supplies sufficient subsistence to the few Negroes, most of them free, who have escaped from a system of tyranny continued for four centuries. The weight of the fetters which oppress them was rendered still more burthensome, when they were put under the power of a company which had the exclusive right both of supplying all their wants, and of purchasing the commodities they had to sell. Accordingly, the exports of that soil, though of tolerable extent, were reduced for Europe to the plant know'n by the name of Perella, which is made  
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use of in dying scarlet; to a few oxen and mules for America, and for that part of Africa, which is subject to the court of Lisbon; to a small quantity of sugar, and to several pagnes of cotton. The fate of this unfortunate country was not to be altered. No one could appeal in it's favour, while from the general to the soldier, from the bishop to the curate, every man was in the pay of the company, which was at length abolished.

SEVERAL Portuguese who had gone to the Cape de Verd Islands, soon arrived upon the banks of the river of Casamane and Cacheo, and upon the largest of the Bissagos islands. Their descendants degenerated so much in process of time, that they scarce differed from the natives. They have always preserved, however, the ambition of considering themselves as sovereigns of the country, where they had built three villages and two small forts. The rival nations have paid very little respect to this pretension, and have discontinued to trade in competition with the vessels arrived from the Cape de Verd Islands, from the Brazils and from Lisbon.

SERRE-LEONE is not under the British dominion, although the subjects of that power have concentrated almost all the commercial transactions in two private factories, very antiently established. Exclusive of the wax, ivory, and gold, which are found there, they receive annually four or five thousand slaves, either from this or from the neighbouring rivers.

NEXT to this mart, we meet with the Grain Coast, and the Ivory Coast, which occupy the



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space of one hundred and fifty leagues. Rice, ivory, and slaves, are purchased there. The navigators, from temporary factories upon some of these coasts, most frequently wait at anchor till the blacks come of their own accord, upon their canoes, to propose the things they mean to barter. It is said, that this custom hath been established, since repeated acts of ferociousness have evinced the danger of disembarking.

THE English since formed a settlement at the Cape of Apolonia, where the slave trade is considerable; but they have not yet obtained an exclusive commerce, which they wished for, and which, perhaps, they flattered themselves they should obtain.

AFTER Cape Apolonia begins the Gold Coast, which terminates at the river Volta. It is one hundred and thirty leagues in extent. As the country is divided into a great many small states, and as the inhabitants are the most robust men of Guinea, the factories of the commercial nations of Europe have been exceedingly multiplied here. Five of them belong to the Danes; twelve or thirteen, of which St. George de la Mina is the capital, belong to the Dutch; and the English have conquered, or formed, nine or ten of them, the chief of which is Cape Corso. The French, who saw themselves, with regret, excluded from a region abounding in slaves, attempted, in 1749, to appropriate Anamabou to themselves. They were fortifying themselves in it, with the consent of the natives of the country, when their workmen were driven away by the cannon of the ships

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ships of Great Britain. An able merchant, who was then at London, upon the news of this outrage, expressed his astonishment at a conduct so imprudent. Sir, said a minister to him, who was in great favour with this enlightened people, *if we were to be just to the French, we should not exist thirty years longer.* At this period the English formed a firm establishment at Anamabou, and since that time they have never suffered any competitor in this important market.

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At the distance of eight leagues from the river Volta is Kela, which abounds in articles of subsistence. There it is that the navigators go to supply themselves with provisions; and from thence it is that they send their canoes, or boats, in search of proper places to establish their trade in.

THE Little Popo often attracts them. The English and the French frequent this latitude; but the Portugueze resort there in still greater numbers, for the following reason:

THE people who formerly held the sway in Africa, were reduced, in process of time, to such a state of weakness, that, in order to preserve the liberty of trading on the Gold Coast, they agreed to pay the tenth of their cargoes to the Dutch. This shameful tribute, which hath always been paid regularly, was so disadvantageous to the privateers of Bahia and of Fernambucca, the only ones that frequent that coast, that they agreed among themselves, that no more than one vessel of each of these two provinces should ever be in any

any port. The rest remain at Little Popo, till their turn for trading comes about.

JUIDA, at fourteen leagues distance from the Little Popo, is famous for the number and the quality of the slaves which come from thence. It is open only to the English, the French, and the Portuguese. Each of these nations hath a fort there, built in the island of Gregoi, two miles from the shore. The chiefs of these factories undertake, every year, a journey of thirty leagues, in order to carry to the sovereign of the country presents, which he receives, and requires as an homage.

At the distance of eight leagues from Juida, is Epée; where there are sometimes a great many slaves, but most commonly none. Accordingly, this harbour is frequently void of ships.

A LITTLE beyond this is Porto Novo. The trade, which in other places is settled on the sea-coast, is carried on here in the inland parts, at seven leagues from the shore. This inconvenience made it languid for a long time, but it is now very considerable. The passion for the tobacco of Brazil, which is still more prevailing at this place than in any other part of the coast, gives a considerable superiority to the Portuguese. The English and French are obliged to form their cargoes from the refuse of their's.

BADAGRY is only at three leagues distance from Porto Novo. A great many slaves are brought there. At the time when all nations were admitted, the navigators could only make their pur-

chases, and dispose of their cargoes, one after the other; but since the English and the Dutch are excluded, the French and the Portuguese are allowed to trade in competition, because their merchandizes are very different. This is the part of the coast the most frequented by French privateers.

ANONI, which is separated from Badagry by an interval of fourteen or fifteen leagues, is situated in the islands of Curamo, in a difficult, marshy, and unhealthy port. This mart is principally, almost exclusively indeed, frequented by the English, who come there in large sloops, and carry on their trade between the islands and the neighbouring continent.

FROM the river Volta to this Archipelago, the coast is inaccessible. A sand-bank, against which the waves of the sea break with great violence, obliges the navigators, who are attracted to these latitudes by the hopes of gain, to make use of Indian boats, and of the natives of the country, to land their cargoes, and to bring back the goods they receive in exchange. Their vessels are safely anchored upon an exceeding good bottom, at the distance of three or four leagues from the coast.

THE river of Benin, which abounds in ivory and in slaves, receives some ships. Its trade is fallen almost entirely into the hands of the English. The French and the Dutch have been disgusted with the character of the natives, who are indeed less savage than those of the neighbouring countries, but so extremely capricious, that it is never

never know'n what kind of merchandize they will choose to accept in exchange.

AFTER Cape Formosa, are the Old and the New Calbary. The coast is low, under water for six months in the year, and very unwholesome. All the water is tainted; shipwrecks are frequent there, and whole crews are sometimes the victims of the intemperance of the climate. These various calamities have not been able to prevent the navigators of Great Britain from frequenting these dangerous latitudes. They purchase there, every year, seven or eight thousand blacks, but at a very low price. The French, who formerly seldom resorted to these marts, now begin to land there in greater numbers. The ships which draw above twelve feet water, are obliged to cast anchor near the island of Panis, where the chief of these barbarous countries resides, and where he hath draw'n a considerable trade.

TRADE is much more brisk on the Gabon. This is a large river, which waters an immense plain, and which, together with several other less considerable rivers, forms a multitude of islands, more or less extensive, which are each of them governed by a separate chief. There is scarce any country more plentiful, more sunk under water, or more unwholesome. The French, more volatile than enterprising, seldom go there, notwithstanding their wants. The Portuguese of Prince's and St. Thomas's Islands send only a few sloops. The Dutch export from thence ivory, wax, and woods for dying. The English buy up almost



almost all the slaves which the petty nations, that are perpetually intent upon each other's destruction, make of the prisoners taken on both sides, in the wars carried on between them. There is no considerable staple where the exchanges are made. The Europeans are obliged to penetrate, with their boats, to the extent of fifty or sixty leagues, in these infectious morasses. This custom prolongs the trade excessively, it is destructive to an infinite number of sailors, and occasions some murders. These calamities would cease, if a general mart were established in Parrot Island, situated at the distance of ten leagues from the mouth of the Gabon, and where ships of a tolerable size can land. The English attempted it, undoubtedly with a view of fortifying themselves there, and in hopes of obtaining an exclusive trade. Their agent was murdered in 1769, and matters have remained as they were before.

It must be observed, that the slaves which come from Benin, from Calbary, and from Gabon, are very inferior to those which are bought elsewhere. They are therefore sold as much as possible to the foreign colonies by the English, who frequent these indifferent markets more than any other nation. Such is the state of things to the North of the line.

On the South, the markets are much less numerous, but generally more considerable. The first that presents itself, after Cape de Lopo, is Mayumba. Till the ships arrive at this harbour, the sea is too rough to admit approaching the land. A bay, which is two leagues over at its mouth,

mouth, and one league in depth, affords a safe asylum to the vessels that are impeded by the calms and the currents, which are frequent in those latitudes. The landing is easy near a river. It may be imagined, that the desarts of a climate, too full of morasses, hath been the only reason that hath kept the Europeans, and consequently the Africans away. If from time to time a few captives are sold there, they are purchased by the English and by the Dutch, who go there regularly to take in cargoes of a kind of red wood, that is employed in dying.

At Cape Segundo is found another bay, which is very healthy, more spacious, and more commodious, than even that of Mayumba, and in which water and wood may be obtained with ease and security. All these advantages must undoubtedly have draw'n a considerable trade there, if the time and the expences which are requisite to reach to the extremity of a long slip of land, had not disgusted the slave merchants of it.

They have preferred Loango, where they anchor at eight or nine toises distance from the river, in three or four fathom water, upon a muddy bottom. Such is the agitation of the sea, that it is impossible to land on the coast, except upon Indian boats. The European factories are at a league's distance from the town, upon an eminence, which is considered as very unwholesome. This is the reason why, notwithstanding the blacks are cheaper there than any where else, and the natives are less difficult about the quality of the merchandize, yet the navigators seldom land

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land at Loango, except when the competition is too great in the other ports.

At Moleimbo, the vessels are obliged to stop at one league's distance from the shore; and the boats, in order to land, must clear a bar that is rather dangerous. The transactions are carried on upon a very agreeable mountain, but very difficult of access. The slaves are here in greater number, and of superior quality to those upon the rest of the coast.

The bay of Gabinda is safer and commodious. The sea is smooth enough to admit of refitting the vessels in case of necessity. Anchor is cast at the foot of the houses, and the business is transacted at the distance of one hundred and fifty paces from the shore.

It hath long been said, and it cannot be too often repeated, that the climate is exceedingly destructive in these three ports, and especially at Loango. Let us endeavour to find out the reasons of this calamity, and let us see whether it may not be remedied.

The grass which grows on the coast is almost always four or five feet high, and receives abundant dews during the night. The Europeans who cross these fields in the morning, are seized with violent, and frequently fatal colics, unless the natural heat of the intestines, which are probably chilled by the impression of this dew, be restored without delay by brandy. Would not this danger be avoided, by keeping away from this grass 'till the sun should have dissipated the kind of venom that had fallen upon it?

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THE sea is unwholesome in these latitudes. Its waves of a yellowish cast, and which are covered with whale's blubber, must obstruct the pores of the skin in those who bathe in it, and check their perspiration. This is probably the cause of the burning fevers which carry off such a prodigious number of sailors. In order to prevent these destructive maladies, it would, perhaps, be sufficient to employ the natives of the country in all the services that cannot be done without entering into the water.

In that country, the days are excessively hot, the nights damp and cold, which is a dangerous alternative. The inconveniences of it might be avoided, by lighting fires in the bedchambers. This precaution would make the two extremes less sensible, and would produce the necessary degree of temperature for a man who is asleep, and who cannot put on additional coverings, in proportion as the cold of the night increases.

INACTION and wearisomeness, are fatal to the crews of ships that are commonly detained four or five months on the coast. This double inconvenience would be removed, if a third of them were constantly employed alternately on land, in those trifling labours which are improperly thro'wn upon the Negroes, and which would occupy without fatiguing them.

It will perhaps be said, that we are for ever attending to the preservation of man. But what object is there which ought more seriously to engage our thoughts? Is it gold, or silver, or precious stones? Some person of an atrocious disposition

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position might imagine it. Should he dare to avow such a sentiment in my presence, I would say to him, I know not who thou art; but nature had formed thee to be a despot, a conqueror, or an executioner; for she hath divested thee of all kind of benevolence towards thy fellow-creature. If we should happen to mistake with regard to the means we propose for their preservation, we shall be happy to find them censured, and to have some more effectual means suggested.

OUR confidence, however, in the advice we have just been giving, is the more confirmed, as it is founded upon experiments made by one of the most intelligent seamen we have ever know'n. This able man lost only one sailor during a twelvemonth's stay at Loango itself; and even that sailor had infringed the orders that were given.

A VERY singular custom is generally observed in the country of Angola; and the people are equally ignorant of it's origin and of it's tendency. The Kings of those provinces are not allowed to have in their possession, nor even to touch, any European goods, except metals, arms, and carved wood or ivory. It is probable that some of their predecessors have submitted to this self-denial, in order to diminish the inordinate desire of their subjects for foreign merchandize. If this was the motive of that institution, the success hath not answered the expectation. The lowest classes of men intoxicate themselves with our liquors, whenever they have the means of purchasing

purchasing them; and the wealthy, the great, and even the ministers, generally clothe themselves with our linens and our stuffs. They take care only to quit these dresses when they go to court, where it is not allowed to display a luxury prohibited to the despot alone.

THERE is no other landing-place from the last port we have mentioned, till we come to the Zaire. The river Ambriz is at no great distance from this; it receives a few small vessels sent from Europe itself. More considerable ships, which arrive at Loango, at Molembo, and at Gabinda, likewise send some boats there occasionally to trade for Negroes, and to shorten their stay on the coast; but the traders who are settled there, do not always allow this competition.

THESE difficulties are not to be apprehended at Mossula, where no ships can enter. The English, the French, and the Dutch, who carry on their trade in the most important harbours, send their sloops freely there, which seldom return without a few slaves, purchased at a more reasonable price than in the larger markets.

AFTER Mossula, the Portuguese possessions begin, which extend along the coast from the eighth to the eighteenth degree of south latitude, and sometimes as far as a hundred leagues in the inland parts. This great space is divided into many provinces, the several districts of which are governed by chiefs, who are all tributary to Lisbon. Seven or eight feeble corps, of ten or twelve soldiers each, are sufficient to keep these people in subjection. These Negroes are supposed

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posed to be free, but the slightest misdemeanour plunges them into servitude. Plentiful mines of iron, superior in quality to any that has been found in any other part of the globe, have been discovered a few years since in the midst of these forests, in a place which hath been called the New Oeiras. The Count de Souza, at that time governor of this district, and at present ambassador at the court of Spain, caused them to be worked; but they have been forsaken since the mother-country hath passed from the yoke of tyranny under that of superstition. This active commandant, likewise extended the frontiers of the empire under his command. His ambition was to reach as far as the rich mines of Monomotapa, and to pave the way for his successors to pursue their conquests as far as the territory which his nation is in possession of in the Mosambique.

We leave it to others to judge of the possibility or the fancifulness, the inutility or the importance of this communication. We will only observe, that the first Portugueze settlement, near the ocean, is Bamba, the chief business of which, consists in furnishing the woods which may be wanted at St. Paul de Loanda.

THIS capital of the Portugueze settlements in Africa, hath a tolerably good harbour. It is formed by a sandy island, and protected at its entrance, which is very narrow, by regular fortifications, and defended by a garrison, which would be sufficient, did it not consist of officers and soldiers, most of whom are branded by the laws, or are at least exiles. The population of



the town consists of seven or eight hundred white men, and of about three thousand Negroes, or free Mulattoes.

ST. PHILIP de Benguela, which belongs to the same nation, hath but one harbour, where the sea is often very rough. The town, much less considerable than St. Paul, is covered by an indifferent fort, which would easily be reduced to ashes by the guns of the ships. No very obstinate resistance would be made by two or three hundred Africans who guard, and who, even as St. Paul's, are most of them distributed in posts, at some distance from one another.

AT ten leagues beyond St. Philips, we find another Portuguese settlement, where numerous flocks are bred, and where the salt is gathered that is necessary for the people subject to that crown. The settlements and the trade of the Europeans, do not extend upon the western coast of Africa.

THE Portuguese vessels, which frequent these latitudes, all repair to St. Paul's or to St. Philip's. They purchase a greater number of slaves in the first of these markets, and in the latter, slaves that are more robust. These ships are not in general dispatched from the mother-country, but from the Brazils, and almost solely from Rio de Janeiro. As the Portuguese have an exclusive privilege, they pay less for these unfortunate blacks than they are sold for any where else. It is with tobacco, and with cowries, which they get upon the spot itself, as well as the tobacco, that they pay upon the Gold Coast; and upon the



Coast of Angola, they give in exchange some tobacco, rums, and coarse linens.

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XI.

In what number, at what price, and with what merchandize, the slaves are purchased.

IN the early times, after the discovery of the western Africa, the population of that immense portion of the globe, did not sensibly decrease. Its inhabitants were not at that time employed; but, in proportion as the conquests and the cultivations were increased in America, more slaves were required; this want hath gradually increased; and since the peace of 1763, eighty thousand of these wretched inhabitants have been carried off from Guinea every year: these unfortunate men have not all arrived in the New World. According to the natural course of things, about one eighth part of them must have perished in the passage. Two thirds of these deplorable victims of our avarice have come from the north, and the remainder from the south of the line.

THEY were originally purchased every where at a very cheap rate. Their value hath gradually increased, and in a more remarkable manner during the course of the last fifteen years. In 1777, a French merchant sent to purchase one hundred and fifty of them at Molembo, which cost him, one with another, 583 livres, 18 sols, 10 deniers\*, beside the expences of fitting out. At the same period, he sent for 521 at Portonovo, which he obtained for 460 livres, 10 deniers †.

THIS difference in the price, which may be considered as habitual, is not to be attributed to the inferiority of the slaves from the north; they are,

\* About 24 l. 6 s. 5 ½ d. † About 19 l. 3 s. 4 ½ d.

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on the contrary stronger, more laborious, and more intelligent, than those from the south; but the coast from which they are brought, is less convenient and more dangerous; they are not always to be found there, and the privateer runs the risk of losing the profits of the voyage; it is necessary to put in at Prince's, and St. Thomas's Islands, in order to procure water for them; besides, that several of them perish in the passage, which is delayed by contrary winds, calms, and currents; and that their disposition inclines them to despair and to rebellion. All these reasons must render them cheaper in Africa, though they be sold for something more in the New World.

SUPPOSING, that fourscore thousand blacks have been purchased in 1777, and all of them at the prices we have mentioned, the amount of the whole will be 41,759,333 livres, 6 sols, 8 deniers\*, which the African Coasts will have obtained for the most horrid of all sacrifices.

THE slave merchant doth not receive this entire sum. Part of it is absorbed by the taxes required by the sovereigns of the ports in which the trade is carried on. An agent of the government, whose business it is to maintain order, hath likewise his demands. Intermediate persons are employed between the buyer and the seller, whose interposition is become dearer, in proportion to the increase of the competition between the European navigators,

\* About 1,739,970 l. 4 s. 5 1/4 d

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and to the diminution of the number of the blacks. These expences, foreign to the trade, are not exactly the same in all the markets; but they do not experience any important variations, and are too considerable every where.

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THESE slaves are not paid for with metals, but with our productions, and with our merchandise. All nations, except the Portugueze, give nearly things of the same value. They consist of broad swords, firelocks, gun-powder, iron, brandy, toys, carpets, glass, woollen-stuffs, and especially East India linens, or such as are manufactured and printed in imitation of them in Europe. The people to the north of the line, have adopted for their coin a small white shell, which we bring to them from the Maldives. The trade of the Europeans, on the south of the line, hath not this object of exchange. The coin is represented there by a small piece of straw stuff, eighteen inches in length, and twelve in breadth, which is current for 5 sols \* of France.

THE European nations have thought that it would be of use to their trade to have settlements in the western part of Africa. The Portugueze, who, according to the generally received opinion, arrived there the first, carried on the slave trade for a long while without any competitors, because they alone had established cultures in America. From a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances, they were subdued by Spain, and attacked in every part of the world by the Dutch,

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who had disengaged themselves from the fetters under which they were oppressed. The new republicans triumphed, without any extraordinary exertions, over an enslaved people, and more especially on the coast of Guinea; where no means of defence had been prepared. But no sooner had the court of Lisbon recovered their independency, than they were desirous of re-conquering those possessions, of which they had been deprived during their state of slavery. Their navigators were encouraged by their successes in the Brazils to sail towards Africa. Though they did not succeed in restoring to their country all it's ancient rights, they recovered, at least, in 1648, the country of Angola, which hath remained ever since under it's dominion. A few islands, more or less considerable, in these immense seas, belong likewise to Portugal. Such are the remains of the empire, which the court of Lisbon had established, and which extended from Centa to the Red Sea.

THE Dutch gave up their share of these rich spoils to the West India Company, who had seized upon them. This monopolizing Company built forts, levied taxes, took upon themselves the settling of all disputes, ventured to punish any person with death whom they judged to act contrary to their interest; and even went so far as to consider as enemies, all the European navigators whom they found in these latitudes, the exclusive trade of which they claimed to themselves. This conduct so totally ruined this chartered body, that, in 1730, they were obliged to

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to give up the expeditions which they had hitherto carried on, without competition. They only reserved to themselves the property of the forts, the defence, and the maintenance of which costs them annually 280,000 florins, or 616,000 livres \*. They send a ship every year to victual these forts, unless they can prevail upon the merchantmen, who frequent those latitudes, to convey provisions to them at a moderate freight. They sometimes even make use of the right they have reserved to themselves, of sending twelve soldiers upon every ship, by paying seventy-nine livres four sols † for the passage, and for the subsistence of each.

THE directors of the several factories are allowed to purchase slaves, upon giving forty-four livres ‡ a-head to the companies on which they depend; but they are obliged to sell them in Africa itself, and are forbidden by the laws to send them on their own account to the New World.

THESE regions are open at present to all the subjects of the republic. Their obligations to the company consist only in paying 46 livres 14 sols § to it, for every tun which is contained in the vessel, and three per cent. for all the provisions which they bring back from America to Europe.

IN the first beginning of their liberty, the trade of gold, ivory, wax, red wood, and of that

\* 25,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† 3 l. 0 s. 6 d.

‡ 1 l. 16 s. 8 d.

§ 2 l. 10 s. 7 d.

species of pepper know'n by the name of *Mala-guette*, employed several vessels. None are fitted out at present for these objects, portions of which are put upon the ships that are sent to purchase Negroes.

THE number of these vessels, which are mostly of two hundred tons burthen, and the crews of which consisted of twenty-eight, and as far as thirty-six men, formerly amounted annually to twenty-five or thirty, which traded for six or seven thousand slaves. This number is considerably diminished, since the lowering of the coffee hath disabled the colonies from paying for those cargoes. The province of Holland hath some share in this shameful traffic, but it is chiefly carried on by the province of Zeeland.

THE deplorable victims of this barbarous avidity, are dispersed in the several settlements which the United Provinces have formed in the islands, or in the American continent. They ought to be exposed to public view, and sold separately, but this rule is not always adhered to; it even frequently happens, that a privateer, at the time of the sale, agrees for the price for which he will sell the slaves at the next voyage.

IN 1552, the English flag appeared, for the first time, on the western coasts of Africa. The merchants who traded there, formed an association thirty-eight years after, to which, according to the general custom of those times, an exclusive charter was granted. This society, and those that followed it, had their vessels often confiscated by the Portugueze, and afterwards

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by the Dutch, who pretended that they were the  
 sovereigns of those countries; but the peace of  
 Breda, at length, put a perpetual stop to these  
 tyrannical persecutions.

BOOK  
 XI.

THE English islands in the New World began,  
 at that time, to require a great number of slaves  
 for the cultivation of their lands. This was an  
 infallible source of prosperity for the companies  
 whose business it was to furnish these planters;  
 and yet these companies, which succeeded each  
 other with great rapidity, were all ruined; and  
 retarded, by their indolence, or by their dis-  
 honesty, the improvement of the colonies, from  
 which the nation had expected to reap such con-  
 siderable advantages.

PUBLIC indignation against such misconduct  
 manifested itself, in 1697, in so violent a manner,  
 as to compel government to allow individuals to  
 frequent the western part of Africa; but upon  
 condition that they should give ten per cent. to  
 the monopoly for the maintenance of the forts  
 built in those regions. The privilege itself was  
 afterwards abolished. This trade hath been open  
 since 1749 to all the English navigators without  
 any expence, and the treasury hath taken upon  
 itself the expences of sovereignty.

SINCE the peace of 1763, Great Britain hath  
 sent annually to the coast of Guinea 195 vessels,  
 consisting, collectively, of twenty-three thousand  
 tuns, and seven or eight thousand men. Rather  
 more than half this number have been dispatched  
 from Liverpool; and the remainder from Lon-  
 don, Bristol, and Lancaster. They have traded

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for forty thousand slaves; the greatest part of which have been sold in the English West India islands, and in North America. Those that were not disposed of in these markets, have been either fraudulently or publicly introduced in the colonies belonging to other nations.

THIS considerable trade hath not been conducted upon uniform principles. The part of the coast which begins at Cape Blanco, and ends at Cape Rouge, was put under the immediate inspection of the ministry in 1765. From that period to 1778, the civil and military expences of this settlement have amounted to 4,050,000 livres\*: a sum which the nation have considered as inadequate to the advantages they have acquired from it.

A COMMITTEE, chosen by the merchants themselves, and consisting of nine deputies, three from Liverpool, three from London, and three from Bristol, are to take care of the settlements which are formed between Cape Rouge and the line. Though parliament have annually granted four or five hundred thousand livres† for the maintenance of these small forts, most of them are in a ruinous condition; but they are protected by the difficulty of landing.

THE English have no factory upon the remaining part of the west of Africa. Every trader resorts to them in the manner he thinks the most suitable to his interest, without restraint, and without

\* 168,750*l*.

† From 16,666*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. to 20,833*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.



any particular protection. As the competition is greater in these ports than in the others, the navigators of the nation have gradually forsaken them, and they scarce deal annually for two thousand slaves, in markets where they formerly purchased twelve or fifteen thousand.

It can scarce be doubted that the French appeared on those savage coasts before their rivals; but they entirely lost sight of them, till the year 1621, when their flag began again to appear there. The settlement which they formed at that period in Senegal, acquired, in 1678, some increase from the terror which the victorious arms of Lewis XIV. had inspired. This rising power became the prey of a formidable enemy under the reign of his successor. Other factories, successively formed, and become useless in the hands of a monopoly, had already been forsaken. Accordingly, for want of settlements, the trade of that country hath always been insufficient for its rich colonies. In its greatest prosperity, it hath never furnished them more than thirteen or fourteen thousand slaves annually.

THE Danes settled above a century ago in those countries. An exclusive Company exercised its privileges there with that degree of barbarity, of which the more polished countries of Europe have so often set the example in those unfortunate climates. Only one of its agents had the courage to forego these atrocious proceedings, which, from habit, they had considered as legal. Such was his reputation for his goodness, and such the confidence reposed in his integrity, that  
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the Negroes used to come from the distance of a hundred leagues to see him. The sovereign of a distant country sent his daughter to him with gold and slaves, to obtain a grandson of Schilderop's, which was the name of this European so much revered upon all the coasts of Nigritia. O, Virtue! thou do'st still exist in the hearts of those miserable people, who are condemned to live among tigers, or to groan under the tyranny of man! They are then capable of feeling the delightful attractions of benevolent humanity! Just and magnanimous Dane! What monarch ever received an homage so pure and so glorious as that which thy nation hath seen thee enjoy! And in what countries? On a sea, and on a land, which hath been contaminated for three centuries past with an infamous traffic, of crimes and misfortunes, of men exchanged for arms, of children sold by their fathers! We have not tears sufficient to deplore such horrors, and those tears would be unavailing!

In 1754, the trade of Guinea was opened to all citizens, upon condition of paying twelve livres \* to the treasury for every Negro which they should introduce into the Danish islands in the New World. This liberty did not extend, *communibus annis*, beyond the purchase of five hundred slaves. Such a degree of indolence determined government to listen, in 1765, to the proposals of a foreigner, who offered to give a proper degree of extension to this vile commerce,

and the tax imposed upon it was taken off. This new experiment was entirely unsuccessful, because the author of the project was never able to collect more than 170,000 crowns \* for the execution of his enterprizes; and in 1776, the system which had been given up eleven years before, was reassumed.

CHRISTIANSBOURG and Fredericksbourg are the only factories which are in some degree fortified; the others are only plain lodges. The crown maintains, in the five settlements, sixty-two men, some of whom are Negroes, for the sum of 53,160 livres †. If the magazines were properly supplied, it would be easy to treat every year for two thousand slaves; only two hundred are purchased in the present state of things, most of which are given up to foreign nations, because no Danish navigators appear to carry them off.

It cannot be easily foreseen what maxims Spain will adopt in the connections she is going to form in Africa. This crown hath successively received its slaves, sometimes openly, and sometimes fraudulently, from the Genoese, from the Portuguese, from the French, and from the English. In order to emerge from this state of dependence, it hath caused to be ceded, by the treaties of 1777 and of 1778, by the court of Lisbon, the islands of Annabona, and of Fernando del Po, both situated very near the line, the one to the south, and the other to the north. The former hath only one very dangerous harbour, too little

\* 21,250 l.

† 2,215 l.

water to contain ships, and is six miles in circumference. The greatest part of this space is occupied by two high mountains. The thick clouds with which they are almost constantly covered, keep the vallies in that state of moisture which would render them susceptible of cultivation. A few hundred Negroes are seen here, whose labours furnish a small number of white men with a great abundance of hogs, goats, and poultry. The sale of a small quantity of cotton supplies them with their other wants, which are inclosed in a very narrow compass. The second acquisition is of less intrinsic value, as it hath no kind of harbour, and as it's inhabitants are very ferocious: but it's proximity to Calbari and to Gabon, renders it more proper for the purpose which hath dictated the acquiring of it.

LET not, however, the Spanish ministry imagine, that it is sufficient to have some possessions in Guinea, in order to procure slaves. Such was, indeed, the origin of this infamous traffic. At that time, every European nation had only to fortify it's factories, in order to drive away strangers, and to oblige the natives to sell to no other traders except their own. But when these small districts have had no more slaves to deliver, the trade hath languished, because the people of the inland countries have preferred the free ports, where they might choose their purchasers. The advantage of these establishments, formed at so much expence, was lost, when the object of their commerce was exhausted.



THE difficulty of procuring slaves naturally points out the necessity of employing small ships for carrying them off. At a time when a small territory, adjacent to the coast, furnished in a fortnight or three weeks a whole cargo, it was prudent to employ large vessels, because there was a possibility of understanding, looking after, and encouraging the slaves, who all spoke the same language. At present, when each ship can scarce procure sixty or eighty slaves a month, brought from the distance of two or three hundred leagues, exhausted by the fatigues of a long journey, obliged to remain on board the vessels they are embarked upon, five or six months, in sight of their country, having all different idioms, uncertain of the destiny that awaits them, struck with the prepossession, that the Europeans eat them and drink their blood; their extreme uneasiness alone destroys them, or occasions disorders which become contagious, by the impossibility of separating the sick from the healthy. A small ship destined to carry two or three hundred Negroes, by means of the short stay it makes on the coast, avoids half the accidents and losses to which a ship, capable of holding five or six hundred slaves, is exposed.

THERE are other abuses, and these of the utmost consequence, to be reformed in this voyage, which is naturally unhealthy. Those who engage in it commonly fall into two great mistakes. Dupes to a mercenary disposition, the privateers pay more regard to the quantity of stowage than to the dispatch of their vessels; a circumstance that necessarily prolongs the voyage, which every

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Methods  
made use of  
in the purchase,  
in the treatment,  
and in the sale  
of slaves.  
Reflections  
upon this  
subject.

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thing should induce them to shorten. Another inconvenience still more dangerous, is, the custom they have of sailing from Europe at all times; though the regularity of the winds and the currents hath determined the most proper season for arriving in these latitudes.

THIS bad practice hath given rise to the distinction of the great and little voyage. The little voyage is the straightest and the shortest. It is no more than eighteen hundred leagues to the most distant ports where there are slaves. It may be performed in thirty-five or forty days, from the beginning of September to the end of November; because, from the time of setting out, to the time of arrival, the winds and the currents are favourable. It is even possible to attempt it in December, January, and February, but with less security and success.

SAILING is no longer practicable in these latitudes, from the beginning of March to the end of August. The ships would have continually to struggle against the violent currents which run northward, and against the south-east wind, which constantly blows. Experience hath taught navigators, that during this season, they must keep at a distance from the shore, get into the open sea, sail towards the south as far as twenty-six or twenty-eight degrees betwixt Africa and Brazil, and afterwards draw gradually nearer and nearer to Guinea, in order to land at a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues to windward of the port where they are to disembark. This route is

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two thousand five hundred leagues, and requires ninety or a hundred days sail.

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THIS great route, independent of it's length, deprives them of the most favourable time for trade, and for returning. The ships meet with calms, are thwarted by winds, and carried away by currents; water fails them, the provisions are spoiled, and the slaves are seized with the scurvy. Other calamities, not less fatal, often increase the danger of this situation. The negroes, to the north of the Line, are subject to the small-pox, which, by a singularity very distressing, seldom breaks out among this people till after the age of fourteen. If this contagious distemper should affect a ship which is at her moorings there are several know'n methods to lessen it's violence. But a ship attacked by it, while on it's passage to America, often loses the whole cargo of slaves. Those who are born to the south of the Line, escape this disease by another, which is a kind of virulent ulcer, the malignity of which is more violent and more irritable on the sea, and which is never radically cured. Physicians ought, perhaps, to observe this double effect of the small-pox among the Negroes, which is, that it favours those who are born beyond the Equator, and never attacks the others in their infancy. The number and variety of effects sometimes afford occasion for the investigation of the causes of disorders; and for the discovery of remedies proper for them.

THOUGH all the nations concerned in the African trade be equally interested in preserving the

slaves in their passage, they do not all attend to this with the same care. They all feed them with beans mixed with a small quantity of rice; but they differ in other respects in their manner of treating them. The English, Dutch and Danes keep the men constantly in irons, and frequently hand-cuff the women: the small number of hands they have on board their ships obliges them to this severity. The French, who have great numbers, allow them more liberty; three or four days after their departure they take off all their fetters. All these nations, especially the English, are too negligent with regard to the intercourse between the sailors with the women slaves. This irregularity occasions the death of three-fourths of those whom the Guinea voyage destroys every year. None but the Portugueze, during their passage, are secured against revolts and other calamities. This advantage is a consequence of the care they take, to man their vessels only with the Negroes to whom they have given their freedom. The slaves, encouraged by the conversation and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the destiny that awaits them. The quietness of their behaviour induces the Portugueze to grant the two sexes the happiness of living together: an indulgence, which, if allowed in other vessels, would be productive of the greatest inconveniencies.

THE sale of slaves is not carried on in the same manner throughout all America. The English, who have promiscuously bought up whatever presented itself in the general market, sell their cargo

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by wholesale. A single merchant buys it entire; and the planters parcel it out. What they reject is sent into foreign colonies, either by smuggling, or with permission. The cheapness of a Negro is a greater object to the buyer to induce him to purchase, than the badness of his constitution is to deter him from it. These traders will one day be convinced of the absurdity of such a conduct.

THE Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Danes, who have no way of disposing of the infirm and weakly slaves, never take charge of any of them in Guinea. They all divide their cargoes, according to the demands of the proprietors of plantations. The bargain is made for ready money, or for credit, according as circumstances vary.

IN America it is generally believed and asserted, that the Africans are equally incapable of reason and of virtue. The following well-authenticated fact will enable us to judge of this opinion.

Wretched  
condition of  
the slaves in  
America.

AN English ship, that traded in Guinea in 1752, was obliged to leave the surgeon behind, whose bad state of health did not permit him to continue at sea. Murray, for that was his name, was there, endeavouring to recover his health, when a Dutch vessel drew near the coast, put the blacks in irons, whom curiosity had brought to the shore, and instantly sailed off with the booty.

THOSE who interested themselves for these unhappy people, incensed at so base a treachery, instantly ran to Cudjoc, who stopped them at his door, and asked them what they were in search

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of? *The white man, who is with you*, replied they, *who should be put to death, because his brethren have carried off our's. The Europeans*, answered the generous host, *who have carried off our countrymen, are barbarians; kill them whenever you can find them. But he who lodges with me is a good man, he is my friend; my house is his fortress; I am his soldier, and I will defend him. Before you can get at him, you shall pass over me. O my friends, what just man would ever enter my doors, if I had suffered my habitation to be stained with the blood of an innocent man?* This discourse appeased the rage of the blacks: they retired ashamed of the design that had brought them there; and some days after acknowledged to Murray himself, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime, which would have occasioned them perpetual remorse.

THIS event renders it probable, that the first impressions which the Africans receive in the New World, determine them either to good or bad actions. Repeated experience confirms the truth of this observation: those who fall to the share of a humane master, willingly espouse his interests. They insensibly adopt the spirit and manners of the place where they are fixed. This attachment is sometimes exalted even into heroism. A Portuguese slave who had fled into the woods, having learnt that his old master had been taken up for an assassination, came into the court of justice, and acknowledged himself guilty of the fact; let himself be put in prison in lieu of his master; brought false, though judicial, proofs of his pretended crime, and suffered death instead of the guilty person.

person. Actions of so sublime a nature must be uncommon. We will mention one, which, though less heroic, is nevertheless very praise-worthy.

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A PLANTER of St. Domingo had a confidential slave, whom he was perpetually flattering with the hope of speedy freedom, which, however, he never granted him. The more pains this kind of favourite took to render himself useful, the more firmly rivetted were his fetters, because he became more and more necessary. Hope, however, did not forsake him, but he resolved to attain the desired end by a different mode.

In some parts of the island, the Negroes are obliged to provide themselves with clothes and nourishment; and for this purpose they are allowed a small portion of territory, and two hours every day to cultivate it. Those amongst them who are active and intelligent, do not merely gain their subsistence from these little plantations, but they likewise acquire a superfluity, which insures a fortune to them more or less considerable.

LEWIS DESROULEAUX, whose schemes rendered him very economical, and very laborious, had soon amassed funds more than sufficient to purchase his liberty. He offered them with transport for the purchase of his independence, which had been so often promised him. *I have too long traded with the blood of my fellow creatures,* said his master to him in a tone of humiliation; *be free, you restore me to myself.* Immediately the master, whose heart had been rather led astray,

than corrupted, sold all his effects, and embarked for France.

He was obliged to go through Paris, in order to reach his province. His intention was to make but a short stay in that metropolis; but the various pleasures he met with in that superb and delightful capital, detained him till he had foolishly dissipated the riches which he had acquired by long and fortunate labours. In his despair, he thought it less humiliating to solicit, in America, assistance from those who were obliged to him for their advancement, than to ask it in Europe of those who had ruined him.

His arrival at Cape François caused a general surprize. No sooner was his situation known, than he was generally forsaken; all doors were shut against him; no heart was moved by compassion. He found himself reduced to the necessity of passing the remainder of his days in that retirement and obscurity which is the consequence of indigence, and especially when merited, when Lewis Desrouleaux came to throw himself at his feet. "Condescend," said that virtuous freeman, "condescend to accept the house of your slave; you shall be served, obeyed, and beloved in it." But soon perceiving that the respect which is owen to the unfortunate, and the attention which is due to benefactors, did not render his old master happy, he pressed him to retire to France. "My gratitude will follow you," said he, embracing his knees. "Here is a contract for an annual income of 1500  
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THE annuity hath always been paid before hand since that period. Some presents, as tokens of friendship, constantly accompanied it from St. Domingo to France. The giver, and the receiver, were both alive in 1774. May they both serve for a long time as a model to this proud, ungrateful, and unnatural age!

SEVERAL acts resembling this, of Lewis Desrou'eaux, have affected some of the planters. Several of them would readily say, as Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when he was blamed for returning the salutation of a Negro, *I should be very sorry that a slave should be more manly than myself.*

BUT there are barbarians, who considering pity as a weakness, delight in making their dependents perpetually sensible of their tyranny. They justly, however, receive their punishment in the negligence, infidelity, desertion, and suicide of the deplorable victims of their insatiable avarice. Some of these unfortunate men, especially those of Mina, courageously put an end to their lives, under the firm persuasion, that they shall immediately, after death, rise again in their own country, which they look upon as the finest in the world. A vindictive spirit furnishes others with resources still more fatal. Instructed from their infancy in the arts of poisons, which grow, as it were, un-

der their hands, they employ them in the destruction of the cattle, the horses, the mules, the companions of their slavery, and of every living thing employed in the cultivation of the lands of their oppressors. In order to remove from themselves all suspicion, they first exercise their cruelties on their wives, their children, their mistresses, and on every thing that is dearest to them. In this dreadful project, that can only be the result of despair, they have the double pleasure of delivering their species from a yoke more dreadful than death, and of leaving their tyrant in a wretched state of misery, that is an image of their own condition. The fear of punishment doth not check them. They are scarce ever know'n to have any kind of foresight; and they are, moreover, certain of concealing their crimes, being proof against tortures. By one of those inexplicable contradictions of the human heart, though common to all people whether civilized or not, Negroes, though naturally cowards, give many instances of an unshaken firmness of soul. The same organisation which subjects them to servitude, from the indolence of their mind, and the relaxation of their fibres, inspires them with vigour and unparalleled resolution for extraordinary actions. They are cowards all their life time, and heroes only for an instant. One of these miserable men hath been know'n to cut his wrist off with a stroke of a hatchet, rather than purchase his liberty, by submitting to the vile office of an executioner. Another slave had been slightly tortured for a trifling fault, which he was not even guilty of. Stung

by resentment, he determined to seize upon the whole family of his oppressor, and to carry them up to the roof of the house. When the tyrant was preparing to enter his dwelling, he beheld his youngest son throw'n down at his feet; he lifted up his head and saw the second fall likewise. Seized with despair, he fell on his knees, to implore, in great agitation, the life of the third. But the fall of this last of his offspring, together with that of the Negro, convinced him, that he was no longer a father, nor worthy to be one.

Nothing, however, is more miserable than the condition of the Negro, throughout the whole American Archipelago. The first thing done, is to disgrace him with the indelible mark of slavery, by stamping with a hot iron, upon his arms, or upon his breast, the name, or the mark of his oppressor. A narrow, unwholesome hut, without any conveniences, serves him for a dwelling. His bed is a hurdle, fitter to put the body to torture than to afford it any ease. Some earthen pots, and a few wooden dishes are his furniture. The coarse linc which covers part of his body, neither secures him from the insupportable heats of the day, nor the dangerous dews of the night. The food he is supplied with, is cassava, salt beef, salt cod, fruits and roots, which are scarce able to support his miserable existence. Deprived of every enjoyment, he is condemned to a perpetual drudgery in a burning climate, constantly under the rod of an unfeeling master.

ALL Europe hath for this century past, been filled with the most sublime, and the soundest sentiments



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sentiments of morality. Writings, which will be immortal, have established in the most affecting manner, that all men are brethren. We are filled with indignation at the cruelties, either civil or religious of our ferocious ancestors, and we turn away our eyes from those ages of horror and blood. Those among our neighbours, whom the inhabitants of Barbary have loaden with irons, obtain our pity and assistance. Even imaginary distresses draw tears from our eyes, both in the silent retirement of the closet, and especially at the theatre. It is only the fatal destiny of the Negroes which doth not concern us. They are tyrannized, mutilated, burnt, and put to death, and yet we listen to these accounts coolly and without emotion. The torments of a people, to whom we owe our luxuries, can never reach our hearts.

THE condition of these slaves, though every where deplorable, is something different in the colonies. In those where there are very extensive territories, a portion of land is generally given them, to supply them with the necessaries of life. They are allowed to employ a part of the Sunday in cultivating it, and the few moments that on other days they spare from the time allotted for their meals. In the more confined islands, the colonist himself furnishes their food, the greatest part of which hath been imported by sea from other countries. Ignorance, avarice, or poverty, have introduced into some colonies, a method of providing for the subsistence of Negroes, equally destructive both to the men and the



the plantation. They are allowed on Saturday, or some other day, to work in the neighbouring plantations, or to plunder them, in order to procure a maintenance for the rest of the week.

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BESIDE these differences arising from the particular situation of the settlements in the American islands, each European nation hath a manner of treating slaves peculiar to itself. The Spaniards make them the companions of their indolence; the Portugueze, the instruments of their debauchery; the Dutch, the victims of their avarice. By the English, they are considered merely as natural productions, which ought neither to be used, nor destroyed without necessity; but they never treat them with familiarity; they never smile upon them, nor speak to them. One would think they were afraid of letting them suspect, that nature could have given any one mark of resemblance betwixt them and their slaves. This makes them hate the English. The French, less haughty, less disdainful, consider the Africans as a species of moral beings; and these unhappy men, sensible of the honour of seeing themselves almost treated like rational creatures, seem to forget that their master is impatient of making his fortune, that he always exacts labours from them above their strength, and frequently lets them want subsistence.

THE opinions of the Europeans have also some influence on the condition of the Negroes of America. The protestants, who are not actuated by a desire of making proselytes, suffer them to live

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live in Mohammedism, or in that idolatry in which they were born, under a pretence, that it would be injurious to keep their *brethren in Christ* in a state of slavery. The catholics think themselves obliged to give them some instruction, and to baptize them; but their charity extends no further than the bare ceremonies of a baptism, which is wholly useless and unnecessary to men who dread not the pains of hell, to which, they say, they are accustomed in this life.

THE torments they experience in their slavery, and the disorders to which they are liable in America, both contribute to render them insensible to the dread of future punishment. They are particularly subject to two diseases, the yaws, and a complaint that affects their stomach. The first effect of this last disorder is, to turn their skin and complexion to an olive colour. Their tongue becomes white, and they are overpowered by such a desire of sleeping that they cannot resist: they grow faint, and are incapable of the least exercise. It is a languor, and a general relaxation of the whole machine. In this situation they are in such a state of despondency, that they suffer themselves to be knocked down rather than walk. The loathing which they have of mild and wholesome food, is attended with a kind of rage for every thing that is salted or spiced. Their legs swell, their breath is obstructed, and few of them survive this disorder. The greatest part die of suffocation, after having suffered and languished for several months.

THE thickness of their blood, which appears to be the source of these disorders, may proceed from several

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several causes. One of the principal, is, undoubtedly, the melancholy which must seize these men who are violently torn away from their country, are fettered like criminals, who find themselves all on a sudden on the sea, where they continue for two months or six weeks, and who, from the midst of a beloved family, pass under the yoke of an unknown people, from whom they expect the most dreadful punishments. A species of food, new to them, and disagreeable in itself, disgusts them in their passage. At their arrival in the islands, the provisions that are distributed to them, are neither good in quality, nor sufficient to support them. The cassava, which is particularly allotted to them, is very dangerous in itself. The animals who eat of it are rapidly destroyed, though by a contradiction, which is often found in nature, they are very fond of it. If this root doth not produce such fatal effects among mankind, it is because they do not make use of it till all its poison hath been extracted by preparation. But with what negligence must not these preparations be made, when slaves only are the object of them.

ART hath for a long time been employed in endeavouring to find out some remedy against this disorder in the stomach. It has been found, after several experiments, that nothing was more salutary, than to give the blacks who were attacked with it, three ounces of the juice of a species of colocynth, with almost a similar dose of a kind of oracte, known in the islands by the name of *jargon*. This drink is preceded by a purgative, which  
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consists of half a drachm of gumbooge diluted in milk, or in honey-water.

THE yaws, which is the second disorder peculiar to Negroes, and which accompanies them from Africa to America, is contracted in the birth, or by communication between the sexes. No age is free from it; but it more particularly attacks at the periods of infancy and youth. Old people have seldom strength sufficient to support the long and violent treatment which it requires.

THERE are said to be four species of yaws. The yaws with pustules, large and small, as in the small pox; that which resembles lentils; and lastly the red yaws, which is the most dangerous of all.

THE yaws attack every part of the body, but more especially the face. It manifests itself by granulated red spots, resembling a raspberry. These spots degenerate into sordid ulcers, and the disorder at length affects the bones. It is not in general attended with much sensibility.

FEVERS seldom attack the persons who are afflicted with the yaws; they eat and drink as usual, but they have an almost insuperable aversion for every kind of motion, without which, however, no cure can be expected.

THE eruption lasts about three months; the patients are fed, during this long space of time, with the *Catalou*, or *Ratnia Brasiliensis*, with rice, dressed without either grease or butter, and the only drink which is allowed them is watery in which one or other of these vegetables hath been boiled. They must also be kept very warm, and made to use every

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At length the period comes, when it is necessary to purge and bathe the patient, and to administer mercury to him, both internally and by friction, in such a manner as to bring on a gentle salivation. The effect of this remedy, which is the only specific against the disease, is to be assisted by a diet drink made with herbs, or with the sudorific woods. This process must even be continued for a long time after the cure is considered as complete.

THE ulcer, which hath served as a drain during the treatment, is not always closed at the termination even of the disorder. It is then cured with red precipitate, and a digestive ointment.

THE Negroes have a peculiar method of drying up their pustules; they apply to them the black of the saucepans, mixed with the juice of lemon or citron.

ALL the Negroes, as well male as female, who come from Guinea, or are born in the islands, have the yaws once in their lives: it is a disease they must necessarily pass through; but there is no instance of any of them being attacked with it a second time, after having been radically cured. The Europeans seldom or never catch this disorder, notwithstanding the frequent and daily connection which they have with the Negro women. These women suckle the children of the white people, but do not give them the yaws. How is it possible to reconcile these facts, which are incon-

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terrible, with the system which physicians seem to have adopted with regard to the nature of the yaws? Can it not be allowed, that the semen, the blood, and skin of the Negroes, are susceptible of a virus peculiar to their species? The cause of this disorder, perhaps, is the same as that which occasions their colour: one difference is naturally productive of another: and there is no being or quality that exists absolutely detached from others in nature.

BUT whatever this disorder may be, it is demonstrated, that fourteen or fifteen hundred thousand blacks, who are now dispersed over the European colonies of the New World, are the unfortunate remains of eight or nine millions of slaves that have been conveyed there. This dreadful destruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the same as that of Africa, much less of the disorders, to which, in the opinion of all observers, but few fall a sacrifice. It must therefore originate from the manner in which these slaves are governed: and might not an error of this nature be corrected?

In what manner the condition of slaves might be rendered more supportable.

THE first step necessary in this reformation would be to attend minutely to the natural and moral state of man. Those who go to purchase blacks on the coasts of savage nations; those who convey them to America, and especially those who direct their labours, often think themselves obliged, from their situation, and frequently too for the sake of their own safety, to oppress these wretched men. The heart of those who conduct the slaves is lost to all sense of compassion, is ignorant of every

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motive to enforce obedience, except those of fear or severity, and these are exercised with all the ferocious spirit of a temporary authority. If the proprietors of plantations would cease to regard the care of their slaves, as an occupation below them, and consider it as an office to which it is their duty to attend, they would soon discard these errors that arise from a spirit of cruelty. The history of all mankind would shew them, that, in order to render slavery useful, it is, at least, necessary to make it easy; that force doth not prevent the rebellion of the mind; that it is the master's interest that the slave should be attached to life, and that nothing is to be expected from him the moment that he no longer fears to die.

THIS principle of enlightened reason, derived from the sentiments of humanity, would contribute to the reformation of several abuses. Men would acknowledge the necessity of lodging, clothing, and giving proper food to beings condemned to the most painful bondage that hath ever existed since the infamous origin of slavery. They would be sensible, that it is naturally impossible that those who reap no advantage from their own labours, can have the same understanding, the same œconomy, the same activity, the same strength, as the man who enjoys the produce of his industry. That political moderation would gradually take place, which consists in lessening labour, alleviating punishment, and rendering to man part of his rights, in order to reap, with greater certainty, the benefit of those duties that are imposed upon him. The preservation of a great number



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of slaves, whom disorders occasioned by vexation or regret deprive the colonies of, would be the natural consequence of so wise a regulation. Far from aggravating the yoke that oppresses them, every kind of attention should be given to make it easy, and to dissipate even the idea of it, by favouring a natural propensity that seems peculiar to the Negroes.

THEIR organs are extremely sensible of the powers of music. Their ear is so true, that in their dances, the time of a song makes them spring up a hundred at once, striking the earth at the same instant. Enchanted, as it were, with the voice of a singer, or the tone of a stringed instrument; a vibration of the air is the spirit that actuates all the bodies of these men: a sound agitates, transports, and throws them into extasies. In their common labours, the motion of their arms, or of their feet, is always in cadence. At all their employments they sing, and seem always as if they were dancing. Music animates their courage, and rouses them from their indolence. The marks of this extreme sensibility to harmony are visible in all the muscles of their bodies, which are always naked. Poets and musicians by nature, they make the words subservient to the music, by a licence they arbitrarily assume of lengthening or shortening them, in order to accommodate them to any air that pleases them. Whenever any object or incident strikes a Negro, he instantly makes it the subject of a song. In all ages this hath been the origin of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the singer and the ge-

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neral chorus, sometimes constitute the whole poem. Five or six bars of music compose the whole length of the song. A circumstance that appears singular, is, that the same air, though merely a continual repetition of the same tones, takes entire possession of them, makes them work or dance for several hours: neither they, nor even the white men, are disgusted with that tedious uniformity which these repetitions might naturally occasion. This particular attachment is owen to the warmth and expression which they introduce into their songs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inspire them with pride. Those intended to excite tenderness, promote rather a kind of languor. Even those which are most lively, carry in them a certain expression of melancholy. This is the highest entertainment to minds of great sensibility.

So strong an inclination for music might become a powerful motive of action under the direction of skilful hands. Festivals, games, and rewards, might on this account be established among them. These amusements, conducted with judgment, would prevent that stupidity so common among slaves, ease their labours, and preserve them from that constant melancholy which consumes them, and shortens their days. After having provided for the preservation of the blacks exported from Africa, the welfare of those who were born in the islands themselves, would then be considered.

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THE Negroes are not averse from the propagation of their species, even in the chains of slavery. But it is the cruelty of the masters which hath effectually prevented them from complying with this great end of nature. Such hard labour is required from Negro women, both before and after their pregnancy, that their children are either abortive, or live but a short time after delivery. Mothers, rendered desperate by the punishments which the weakness of their condition occasions them, sometimes snatch their children from the cradle, in order to strangle them in their arms, and sacrifice them with a fury mingled with a spirit of revenge and compassion, that they may not become the property of their cruel masters. This barbarity, the horror of which must be wholly imputed to the Europeans, will perhaps convince them of their error. Their sensibility will be roused, and engage them to pay a greater attention to their true interests. They will find, that by committing such outrages against humanity, they injure themselves; and if they do not become the benefactors of their slaves, they will at least cease to be their executioners.

THEY will, perhaps, resolve to set free those mothers who shall have brought up a considerable number of children to the age of six years. The allurements of liberty are the most powerful that can influence the human heart. The Negro women, animated by the hope of so great a blessing, to which all would aspire, and few would be able to obtain, would make neglect and infamy be succeeded

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succeeded by a virtuous emulation to bring up children, whose number and preservation would secure to them freedom and tranquillity.

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AFTER having taken wise measures not to deprive their plantations of those succours arising from the extraordinary fruitfulness of the Negro women; they will attend to the care of conducting and extending cultivation by means of population, and without foreign expedients. Every thing invites them to establish this easy and natural system.

THERE are some powers, whose settlements in the American isles every day acquire extent, and there are none whose manual labour doth not continually increase. These lands, therefore, constantly require a greater number of hands to clear them. Africa, where all Europeans go to recruit the population of the colonies, gradually furnishes them with fewer men, and supplies them at the same time with worse slaves, and at a higher price. This source for the obtaining slaves will be gradually more and more exhausted. But were this change in trade as chimerical, as it seems to be not far distant, it is nevertheless certain, that a great number of slaves draw'n out of a remote region, perish in their passage, or in the New World; and that when they come to America they are sold at a very advanced price; that there are few of them whose natural term of life is not shortened; and that the greater part of those who attain a wretched old age, are extremely ignorant, and being accustomed from their infancy to idleness, are frequently very unfit for the employments

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ments to which they are destined, and are in a continual state of despondency, on account of their being separated from their country. If we do not mistake in our opinion, cultivators born in the American islands themselves, always breathing their native air, brought up without any other expence than what consists in a cheap food, habituated in early life to labour by their own parents, endowed with a sufficient share of understanding, or a singular aptitude for all the useful arts; such cultivators cannot but be preferable to slaves that have been sold, and live in a state of perpetual exile and restraint.

THE method of substituting in the place of foreign Negroes those of the colonies themselves, is very obvious. It wholly consists in superintending the black children that are born in the islands, in confining to their workhouses that multitude of slaves who carry about with them their worthlessness, their licentiousness, and the luxury and insolence of their masters, in all the towns and ports of Europe; but above all, in requiring of navigators who frequent the African coasts, that they should form their cargo of an equal number of men and women, or even of a majority of women, during some years, in order to reduce that disproportion which prevails between the two sexes.

THIS last precaution, by putting the pleasures of love within the reach of all the blacks, would contribute to their ease and multiplication. These unhappy men, forgetting the weight of their chains, would with transport see themselves live again

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again in their children. The majority of them are faithful, even to death, to those Negro women whom love and slavery have assigned to them for their companions; they treat them with that compassion which the wretched mutually derive from one another, even in the rigour of their condition; they comfort them under the load of their employments; they sympathize, at least, with them, when, through excess of labour, or want of food, the mother can only offer her child a breast that is dry, or bathed in her tears. The women, on their part, though tied down to no restrictions of chastity, are fixed in their attachments; provided that the vanity of being beloved by white people does not render them inconstant. Unhappily this is a temptation to infidelity, to which they have too often opportunities to yield.

THOSE who have inquired into the causes of this taste for black women, which appears to be so depraved in the Europeans, have found it to arise from the nature of the climate, which, under the torrid zone, irresistibly excites men to the pleasures of love; the facility of gratifying this insurmountable inclination without restraint, and without the trouble of a long pursuit; from a certain captivating attraction of beauty, discoverable in black women, as soon as custom hath once reconciled the eye to their colour; but principally from a warmth of constitution, which gives them the power of inspiring and returning the most ardent transports. Thus they revenge themselves, as it were, for the humiliating despondency of their condition, by the violent and inordinate passion

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passion which they excite in their masters; nor do our ladies in Europe possess, in a more exalted degree, the art of wasting and running out large fortunes than the Negro women. But those of Africa have the superiority over those of Europe, in the real passion they have for the men who purchase them. The happy discovery and prevention of conspiracies that would have destroyed all their oppressors by the hands of their slaves, hath been often owing to the faithful attachment of these Negro women. The double tyranny of these unworthy usurpers of the estates and liberty of such a number of people, deserved, doubtless, such a punishment.

WE will not here so far debase ourselves as to enlarge the ignominious list of those writers who devote their abilities, to justify by policy what is reprobated by morality. In an age where so many errors are boldly exposed, it would be unpardonable to conceal any truth that is interesting to humanity. If whatever we have hitherto advanced hath seemingly tended only to alleviate the burthen of slavery, the reason is, that it was first necessary to give some comfort to those unhappy beings, whom we cannot set free; and convince their oppressors that they are cruel to the prejudice of their real interests. But, in the mean time, until some considerable revolution shall make the evidence of this great truth felt, it may not be improper to pursue this subject further. We shall then first prove, that there is no reason of state that can authorise slavery. We shall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reason

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and justice those governments which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not ashamed to make it the basis of their power.

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SLAVERY is a state in which a man hath lost, either by force or by convention, the property of his own person, and of whom a master can dispose as of his own effects.

THIS odious state was unknow'n in the first ages. Men were all equals; but that natural equality did not last long. As there was not yet any regular form of government established to maintain social order; as none of the lucrative professions existed, which the progress of civilisation hath since introduced among the nations, the strongest, or the most artful, soon seized upon the best territories; and the weakest, and less cunning, were obliged to submit to those who were able to feed and to defend them. This state of dependence was tolerable. In the simplicity of ancient manners, there was no great difference between a master and his servants. Their dress, their food, their lodging, were almost alike. If, at any time, the superior, impetuous and violent, as savages generally are, gave way to the ferociousness of his character, this was a transitory act, which made no alteration in the habitual state of things. But this arrangement did not long subsist. Those who commanded, readily accustomed themselves to believe, that they were of a superior nature to those who obeyed. They kept them at a distance, and debased them. This contempt was attended with fatal consequences;

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quences; the idea of considering these unfortunate people as slaves grew familiar; and they became really so. Each master disposed of them in the manner which was the most favourable to his interest and to his passions. A master who had no further use for their labour, sold or exchanged them: and he who was desirous of increasing the number of them, encouraged them to multiply.

WHEN societies, become more strong and more numerous, acquired a knowledge of the arts and of commerce; the weak found a support in the magistrate, and the poor found resources in the several branches of industry. They both emerged, by degrees, from the kind of necessity they had experienced of submitting to slavery, in order to procure subsistence. The custom of putting one's self in the power of another, became every day less frequent, and liberty was at length considered as a precious and unalienable property.

In the mean while, the laws, which were imperfect and ferocious, still continued, for some time, to impose the penalty of servitude. As in the times of profound ignorance, the satisfaction of the offended person was the only aim which an ill-contrived authority proposed, those who had infringed the principles of justice, with regard to the person who accused them, were given up to him. The tribunals were afterwards determined by more extensive and more useful views. Every crime appeared to them, and with reason, an offence against society; and the criminal became

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came the slave of the state, which disposed of him in the manner most advantageous for the public good. At that period there were no other captives, except those acquired in war.

BEFORE a power was established to maintain order, the contests between individuals were very frequent, and the conqueror never failed to reduce the vanquished to a state of servitude. This custom continued for a long time, in the disputes between nations, because, as each combatant took the field at his own expence, he remained master of the prisoners he had taken himself, or of those which, in the division of the spoil, were given to him as a reward for his actions. But when the armies became mercenary, the government, who were at the expence of the war, and who ran the risk of the event, appropriated to themselves the spoils of the enemy, of which the prisoners were always the most important part. It was then necessary to purchase slaves from the state, or from the neighbouring savage nations. Such was the practice of the Greeks, and of the Romans, and of all people who chose to increase their enjoyments, by this inhuman and barbarous custom.

EUROPE relapsed again into the chaos of the primary ages, when the people of the North subverted the colossal empire, which had been raised, with so much glory, by a warlike and politic republic. These barbarians, who had had slaves in the midst of their forests, multiplied them prodigiously in the provinces which they invaded. Not only those who were taken in arms,

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arms, were reduced to servitude, this humiliating state became also the portion of citizens, who cultivated quietly at home the arts which flourish in times of peace. However, the number of freemen was more considerable in the subdued countries, during the time that the conquerors remained faithful to the form of government which they had thought proper to establish, in order to contain their new subjects, and to protect them from foreign invasions. But, no sooner had this singular institution, which collected a nation, commonly dispersed, into a constantly standing army, lost its influence; no sooner had the fortunate affinities which united the meanest soldier of this powerful body to their King, or to their General, ceased to exist, than a system of universal oppression was established. There was no longer any remarkable distinction between those who had preserved their independence, and those who had for a long time groaned under the yoke of slavery.

THE men who were free, whether they were inhabitants of the towns, or of the country, resided upon the king's domains, or upon the territories of some baron. All those who were in possession of fiefs, pretended, in those times of anarchy, that a man who enjoyed no distinction from birth, whoever he might be, could only possess a precarious kind of property, which had originally proceeded from their liberality. This prejudice, perhaps, the most extravagant that hath ever afflicted the human species, persuaded the nobles that they could never be guilty of injustice,

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injustice, whatever were the obligations they might impose upon so base an order of beings.

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ACCORDING to these principles, they were not allowed to absent themselves, without leave, from their native country. They were not allowed to dispose of their property, either by will, or by any other act made in their life-time; and their Lord was their undoubted heir, when they died without leaving any posterity, or when this posterity were fixed in another part of the country. They were not allowed to appoint guardians to their children; and the liberty of marrying was granted to those only who had purchased it. So much was it apprehended that the people should acquire an insight on their rights and interests, that the liberty of learning to read was one of the favours granted with the most reluctance. They were compelled to the most humiliating vassalages. The taxes which were imposed upon them were arbitrary, unjust, oppressive, and destructive of the spirit of activity and industry. They were obliged to bear the tyrant's expences when he arrived; their provisions, their furniture, their flocks, were all abandoned to pillage. If a law-suit was begun, it was not possible to end it in an amicable manner, because this method would have deprived the lord of the rights that were to accrue to him from the sentence. Every kind of exchange between individuals was prohibited, at the period when the lord of the manor chose himself to sell the provisions which they had collected, or which they had even purchased. Such was the state of oppression under  
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which the class of people groaned who were the least ill-treated. If any of the vexations we have just given an account of, were unknow'n in certain places, others were substituted to them which were often more intolerable.

SOME towns in Italy, which by fortunate chance had acquired the possession of some branches of commerce, were the first to be ashamed of such a situation; and their riches furnished them with the means of shaking off the yoke of their feeble despots. Others purchased their liberty of the Emperors, who, in the course of the bloody and lasting disputes which they had with the Popes, and with their vassals, thought themselves exceedingly fortunate to sell privileges, which the state of their affairs did not permit them to refuse. Some princes were even prudent enough to sacrifice that part of their authority, which the ferment excited in men's minds, made them foresee that they should soon be deprived of. Several of these towns remained insulated; but the majority united their interests. All of them formed political societies, governed by laws which had been dictated by the citizens themselves.

THE success with which this revolution in government was attended, surprized the neighbouring nations. In the mean while, as the kings, and barons who oppressed them, were not compelled by circumstances to give up their sovereignty, they contented themselves with granting to the towns in their dependence valuable and considerable immunities. They were authorized to surround

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surround themselves with walls, to bear arms, and to pay no more than a regular and moderate tribute. Liberty was so essential a point of their constitution, that whenever a bondsman took refuge among them, he became a citizen, if he was not claimed during the course of the year. These communities, or municipal bodies, prospered in proportion to their position, their population, and their industry.

WHILE the condition of men, reputed free, was so fortunately improved, that of the slaves remained the same; that is to say, the most deplorable which it is possible to conceive. These wretched people belonged so entirely to their masters, that they sold or exchanged them at pleasure. They were not allowed any kind of property, even out of their savings, whenever a fixed sum was assigned them for their subsistence. They were put to the torture for the smallest misdemeanor. They might be punished with death, without the interference of the magistrate. Marriage was for a long time forbidden to them; the connections between the two sexes were illegal; they were tolerated, and even encouraged, but they were not honoured with the nuptial benediction. The condition of the children was the same as that of their fathers; they were born, they lived, and they died in slavery. In most of the courts of judicature, their testimony was not admitted against a free man. They were obliged to wear a particular dress; and this humiliating distinction recalled every moment to their minds the ignominy of their existence. To complete

these misfortunes, the spirit of the feudal system opposed the disfranchisement of this species of men. A generous master might indeed break the bonds of his domestic slaves whenever he chose; but innumerable formalities were required to change the situation of the slaves which belonged to the glebe. According to a maxim generally received, a vassal could not diminish the value of the fief which he had received; and the releasing of any of it's cultivators was diminishing it. This obstacle must necessarily have retarded, but could not entirely prevent the revolution, and for the following reason:

THE Germans, and the other conquerors, had appropriated immense domains to themselves at the time of their invasion. The nature of these estates did not allow them to be dismembered. From that time it became impossible for the proprietor to retain all his slaves under his own inspection, and he was compelled to disperse them over the soil they were to cultivate. Their distance preventing their being overlooked, it was thought proper to encourage them by rewards proportioned to their labour. Thus gratifications, which most commonly consisted of a greater or less considerable part of the produce of the lands, were added to their usual maintenance.

By this arrangement the *villains* formed a kind of association with their masters. The riches which they acquired in this advantageous market enabled them to offer a fixed rent for the grounds with which they were intrusted, upon condition that the overplus should belong to them. As the lords

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lords acquired by these means, without risk or uneasiness, from their possessions, as much, or more income, than they had formerly obtained, this practice gained credit, and was soon universally adopted. It was no longer the interest of the proprietor to attend to slaves who cultivated at their own expence, and who were exact in their payments. This ended this personal slavery.

It sometimes happened, that a bold enterprising man, who had laid out considerable funds on his farm, was driven from it before he had reaped the fruits of his advances. This inconvenience occasioned the requisition of leases for several years. They were extended, in process of time, to the whole life of the cultivator, and were often settled upon his most distant posterity. This was the termination of real slavery.

This great change, brought on in a manner by itself, was hastened by a cause which deserves to be observed. All the European governments were then aristocratic. The chief of every republic was perpetually at war with his barons. Being for the most part unable to resist them by force, he was obliged to have recourse to artifice. That artifice, which was employed to the greatest advantage, was to protect the slaves against the tyranny of their masters, and to undermine the power of the nobles, by diminishing the dependence of their subjects. It is not improbable but that some Kings favoured the spirit of liberty, from the only motive of general utility; but most of them were visibly induced to adopt this fortunate policy, more on account of



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their personal interests, than from principles of humanity and benevolence.

HOWEVER this may be, the revolution was so complete, that liberty became more general throughout the greatest part of Europe, than it had been in any climate, or in any age. In all ancient governments, in those even which are always proposed to us as models, most of the people were condemned to a shameful and cruel servitude. The more the societies acquired knowledge, riches, and power, the more did the number of slaves increase, and the more deplorable became their fate. Athens reckoned twenty vassals to one citizen. The disproportion was still greater at Rome, become the mistress of the universe. In both the republics, slavery was carried to the utmost excess of fatigue, of misery, and of ignominy. Since it hath been abolished among us, the people are infinitely more happy, even under the most despotic empires, than they were formerly under the best regulated democracies.

BUT no sooner was domestic liberty revived in Europe, than it was annihilated in America. The Spaniards, whom the waves first cast upon these shores of the New World, did not imagine they owed any duties to a set of men who were not of their complexion, and who did not practise their customs or their religion. They considered them only as the instruments of their avarice, and loaded them with irons. These weak men, who had not the habit of labour, soon expired among the vapours of the mines, or in other occupations almost as destructive. Slaves were then sent

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fer from Africa. Their number hath increased, in proportion as the cultivations have been extended. The Portugueze, the Dutch, the English, the French, the Danes, all these nations, whether free or enslaved, have fought, without remorse, an increase of fortune in the labours, the blood, and the despair of these unfortunate people. What a horrid system!

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LIBERTY is the property of one's self. Three kinds of it are distinguished. Natural liberty, civil liberty, and political liberty: that is to say, the liberty of the individual, the liberty of the citizen, and the liberty of a nation. Natural liberty is the right granted by nature to every man to dispose of himself at pleasure. Civil liberty is the right which is insured by society to every citizen, of doing every thing which is not contrary to the laws. Political liberty is the state of a people who have not alienated their sovereignty, and who either make their own laws, or who constitute a part in the system of their legislation.

THE first of these liberties is, after reason, the distinguishing characteristic of man. Brutes are chained up, and kept in subjection, because they have no notion of what is just or unjust, no idea of grandeur or meanness. But in man, liberty is the principle of his vices or his virtues. None but a free man can say, *I will*, or *I will not*; and consequently none but a free man can be worthy of praise, or be liable to censure.

WITHOUT liberty, or the property of one's own body, and the enjoyment of one's mind, no man

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can be either a husband, a father, a relation, or a friend; he hath neither a country, a fellow citizen, nor a God. The slave, impelled by the wicked man, and who is the instrument of his wickedness, is inferior even to the dog, let loose by the Spaniard upon the American; for conscience, which the dog hath not, still remains with the man. He who basely abdicates his liberty, gives himself up to remorse, and to the greatest misery which can be experienced by a thinking and sensible being. If there be not any power under the heavens, which can change my nature and reduce me to the state of brutes, there is none which can dispose of my liberty. God is my father, and not my master; I am his child, and not his slave. How is it possible that I should grant to political power, what I refuse to divine omnipotence?

Will these eternal and immutable truths, the foundation of all morality, the basis of all rational government, be contested? They will, and the audacious argument will be dictated by barbarous and sordid avarice. Behold that proprietor of a vessel, who leaning upon his desk, and with the pen in his hand, regulates the number of enormities he may cause to be committed on the Coasts of Guinea; who considers at leisure, what number of firelocks he shall want to obtain one Negro, what fetters will be necessary to keep him chained on board his ship, what whips will be required to make him work; who calculates with coolness, every drop of blood which the slave must necessarily expend in labour for him, and how much

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it will produce; who considers whether a Negro woman will be of more advantage to him by her feeble labours, or by going through the dangers of child-birth. You shudder!—If there existed any religion which tolerated, or which gave only a tacit sanction to such kind of horrors; if, absorbed in some idle or seditious questions, it did not incessantly exclaim against the authors or the instruments of this tyranny; if it should consider it as a crime in a slave to break his chains; if it should suffer to remain in it's community, the iniquitous judge who condemns the fugitive to death: if such a religion, I say, existed, ought not the ministers of it to be suffocated under the ruins of their altars?

Men or demons, which ever you are, will you dare to justify the attempts you make against my independence, by pleading the right of the strongest? What, is not the man who wants to enslave me, guilty? Doth he only make use of his rights? Where are these rights? Who hath stamped them with a character sacred enough to silence mine? I hold from nature the right of defending myself, and it hath not given thee that of attacking me. If thou dost think thyself authorised to oppress me, because thou art stronger or more dextrous than I am, complain not if my vigorous arm shall rip up thy bosom in search of thy heart. Complain not, when in thy tor'n entrails, thou shalt feel that death which I shall have conveyed into them with thy food. I am stronger or more dextrous than thou

art; be the victim in thy turn, and expiate the crime of having been an oppressor.

BUT, it is alleged, that in all regions, and in all ages, slavery hath been more or less established.

I GRANT it; but what doth it signify to me, what other people in other ages have done? Are we to appeal to the customs of antient times, or to our conscience? Are we to listen to the suggestions of interest, of infatuation, and of barbarism, rather than to those of reason and of justice? If the universality of a practice were admitted as a proof of it's innocence, we should then have a complete apology for usurpations, conquests, and for every species of oppression.

BUT the antients, it is said, thought themselves to be masters of the lives of their slaves; and we, become more humane, dispose only of their liberty and of their labours.

It is true, the progress of knowledge hath enlightened the minds of all modern legislators upon this important point. All codes of laws, without exception, have exerted themselves for the preservation of man, even of him who languishes in a state of slavery. They have agreed, that his existence should be put under the protection of the magistrates, and that the tribunals of justice alone should be able to hasten the end of it. But hath this law, the most sacred of all social institutions, ever been put in force? Is not America peopled with atrocious colonists, who insolently usurp the rights of the sovereign, and destroy by the sword, or by fire, the unfortunate victims of their avarice? Doth not

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this sacrilegious infraction of the laws, to the disgrace of all Europe, still remain unpunished? I challenge any defender or panegyrist of our humanity and of our justice, to adduce an instance of any one of these assassins having lost their life upon a scaffold.

LET US suppose, that the regulations, which, according to the panegyrist, do so much honour to our age, be strictly observed; will the slave be, on that account, much less an object of compassion? What! does not the master, who disposes of my strength at his pleasure, likewise dispose of my life, which depends on the voluntary and proper use of my faculties? What is existence to him, who has not the disposal of it? I cannot kill my slave; but I can make him bleed under the whip of an executioner; I can overwhelm him with sorrows, drudgery, and want; I can injure him every way, and secretly undermine the principles and springs of his life; I can smother, by slow punishments, the wretched infant which a Negro woman carries in her womb. Thus the laws protect the slave against a violent death, only to leave to my cruelty the right of making him die by degrees. The right of slavery is in fact, that of perpetrating all sorts of crimes: those crimes which invade property; for slaves are not suffered to have any even in their own persons: those crimes which destroy personal safety; for the slave may be sacrificed to the caprice of his master: those crimes which make modesty shudder.—My blood rises at these horrid images. I detest, I abhor the human species,

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composed only of victims and executioners; and if it is never to become better, may it be annihilated!

BUT these Negroes, say they, are a race of men born for slavery; their dispositions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked; they themselves allow the superiority of our understandings, and almost acknowledge the justice of our authority.

THE minds of the Negroes are contracted; because slavery destroys all the springs of the soul. They are wicked; but not sufficiently so with you. They are treacherous; because they are under no obligation to speak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the superiority of our understandings, because we have perpetuated their ignorance: they allow the justice of our authority, because we have abused their weakness. As it was impossible for us to maintain our superiority by force, we have, by a criminal policy, had recourse to cunning. We have almost persuaded them that they were a singular species, born only for dependence, for subjection, for labour, and for chastisement. We have neglected nothing that might tend to degrade these unfortunate people, and we have afterwards upbraided them for their meanness.

BUT these Negroes, it is further urged, were born slaves.

BARBARIANS, will you persuade me, that a man can be the property of a sovereign, a son the property of a father, a wife the property of a husband, a domestic the property of a master, a Negro the property of a planter?

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PROUD and disdainful being, who do'st disavow thy brethren, wilt thou never perceive that this contempt recoils upon thyself? If thou do'st wish that thy pride should be ennobled, exert a sufficient elevation of mind, to make it consist in the necessary affinities which thou hast with these unfortunate men whom thou do'st debase.

ONE common father, an immortal soul, a future state of felicity, such is thy true glory, and such likewise is their's.

BUT, it is government itself that sells the slaves.

How did the state acquire that right? Let the magistrate be ever so absolute, is he proprietor of the subjects submitted to his empire? Hath he any further authority, but that with which he is intrusted by the citizen? And have any people ever had the privilege of disposing of their liberty?

BUT these slaves have sold themselves. If they belong to themselves, they have a right to dispose of themselves. It is his business to put a price on his liberty; and when that is settled, whoever gives him the money, hath acquired a legal right over him.

NO man hath the right of selling himself; because he hath no right to accede to every thing which an unjust, violent, and depraved master might require of him. He is the property of God, who is his first master, and from whose authority he is never released. The man who sells him, makes a deceitful bargain with his purchaser, because he loses his own value. And  
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the money, as soon as it is paid to him, remains, with his person, in the hands of his master. What property can a man be in possession of, who hath given up every right of property? Nothing can belong to him who hath agreed to have nothing. He cannot even have virtue, honesty, nor a will of his own. The man who hath reduced himself to the condition of a destructive weapon, is a madman, and not a slave. A man may sell his life, in the same manner as a soldier does, but he cannot as a slave; and this constitutes the difference of the two conditions.

BUT these slaves had been taken in war, and would have been murdered if we had not interfered.

WOULD there have been any wars without you? Are not the dissensions among those people owing to yourselves? Do you not carry destructive weapons to them? Do you not inspire them with the desire of using them? Will your vessels never forsake those deplorable shores, till after the destruction of the miserable race who inhabit them? Why do you not suffer the victor to make what use he chooses of his victory; and why do you become his accomplice?

BUT they were criminals, who deserved death, or the greatest punishments, and were condemned in their own country to slavery. Are you then the executioners of the people of Africa? Beside, who was it that condemned them? Do you not know, that in a despotic state there is no criminal but the tyrant? The subject of an absolute prince

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is the same as the slave in a state repugnant to nature. Every thing that contributes to keep a man in such a state, is an attempt against his person. Every power which fixes him to the tyranny of one man, is the power of his enemies: and all those who are about him, are the authors or abettors of this violence. His mother, who taught him the first lessons of obedience; his neighbour, who set him the example of it; his superiors, who compelled him into this state; and his equals, who led him into it by their opinion: all these are the ministers and instruments of tyranny. The tyrant can do nothing of himself; he is only the *primum mobile* of those efforts which all his subjects exert to their own mutual oppression. He keeps them in a state of perpetual war, which renders robberies, treasons, assassinations lawful. Thus, like the blood which flows in his veins, all crimes originate from his heart, and return thither as to their primary source. Caligula used to say, that if the whole human race had had but one head, he should have taken pleasure in cutting it off. Socrates would have said, that if all crimes were heaped upon one head, that should be the one which ought to be stricken off.

BUT they enjoy more felicity in America, than they did in Africa.

WHEREFORE then are these slaves constantly fighting after their own country? Why do they resume their liberty as soon as they are able? Why do they prefer deserts, and the society of wild beasts, to a condition that appears to you

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so mild? Why doth despair induce them to destroy themselves, or to poison you? Why do their women so frequently procure abortion, in order that their children may not partake of their melancholy destiny? When you speak to us of the happiness of your slaves, you are false to yourselves, and you deceive us. It is the utmost pitch of extravagance to attempt to transform so strange a barbarity into an act of humanity.

But it is urged, that in Europe, as well as in America, the people are slaves. The only advantage we have over the Negroes is, that we can break one chain to put on another.

It is but too true; most nations are enslaved. The multitude is generally sacrificed to the passions of a few privileged oppressors. There is scarce a region know'n, where a man can flatter himself that he is master of his person, that he can dispose, at pleasure, of his inheritance; and that he can quietly enjoy the fruits of his industry. Even in those countries that are least under the yoke of servitude, the citizen deprived of the produce of his labour, by the wants incessantly renewed of a rapacious or needy government, is continually restrained in the most lawful means of acquiring felicity. Liberty is stifled in all parts, by extravagant superstitions, by barbarous customs, and by obsolete laws. It will one day certainly rise again from its ashes. In proportion as morality and policy shall be improved, man will recover his rights. But wherefore, while we are waiting for these fortunate times, and these enlightened ages of prosperity, wherefore

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wherefore must there be an unfortunate race, to whom even the comfortable and honourable name of freeman is denied, and who, notwithstanding the instability of events, must be deprived of the hope even of obtaining it? Whatever, therefore, may be said, the condition of these unfortunate people is very different from ours.

THE last argument which hath been used in justification of slavery, hath been to say, that it was the only method which could be found to lead Negroes to the blessings of eternal life, by the great benefit of baptism.

O BENEFICENT JESUS! how is it possible that thy mild maxims could have been perverted to justify such an infinite number of horrid acts? If the Christian religion, did really thus give a sanction to the avarice of empires, it's sanguinary tenets ought for ever to be proscribed. It should either be abolished, or it should disavow, in the face of the whole universe, the enormities that are imputed to it. Let not it's ministers be apprehensive of displaying too much enthusiasm upon such a subject. The more they shall be inflamed upon it, the better will they serve their cause. Tranquillity would be criminal in them, and wisdom will break forth in their transports.

THE man who defends the system of slavery, will undoubtedly complain, that we have not allowed to his arguments all the energy of which they were susceptible. This may possibly be. Who is the man, who would prostitute his talents in the defence of the most abominable of all causes,



causes, or who would employ his eloquence, if he had any, in the justification of a multitude of murders already committed, and of a multitude of others ready to be perpetrated? Executioner of thy brethren, take thyself the pen in thy hand if thou darest, quiet the perturbations of thy conscience, and harden thine accomplices in their crimes.

I COULD have refuted with greater energy, and more at large, the arguments I had to combat; but the subject was not worth the pains. Are many exertions due, or must the utmost intenseness of thought be bestowed upon him who doth not speak as he thinks? Would not the silence of contempt be more suitable, than dispute with him who pleads for his own interest against justice and against his own conviction?

I HAVE already said too much for the honest and feeling man. I shall never be able to say enough for the inhuman trader.

LET us, therefore, hasten to substitute the light of reason and the sentiments of nature to the blind ferociousness of our ancestors. Let us break the bonds of so many victims to our mercenary principles, should we even be obliged to discard a commerce which is founded only on injustice, and the object of which is luxury.

BUT even this is not necessary. There is no occasion to give up those conveniencies which custom hath so much endeared to us. We may draw them from Africa itself. The most valuable of them are indigenuous there, and it would be an easy matter to naturalize the others. Can

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there be a doubt, that a people who sell their children in order to satisfy some transient caprices, would determine to cultivate their lands, that they might enjoy, habitually, all the advantages of a virtuous and well-regulated society?

PERHAPS it would not even be impossible to obtain these productions from the colonies without peopling them with slaves. The provisions might be gathered by the hands of free people, and would from that time be consumed without remorse.

In order to obtain this end, which is generally considered as chimerical, it would not be necessary, according to the ideas of an enlightened man, to release from their chains those unfortunate people, who are either born, or have grown old in servitude. These stupid men who would not have been prepared for such a change of situation, would be incapable of conducting themselves, they would spend their lives in habitual indolence, or in the commission of all kinds of crimes. The great benefit of liberty must be preserved for their posterity, and even that with some modifications. These children, till they attain their twentieth year, should belong to the masters of the manufacture or plantation where they were born, in order that he may be reimbursed the expences which he will have been obliged to incur for bringing them up. The five following years they should still be obliged to serve him, but for a stipulated salary settled by the law. After this time they should be independent, provided their conduct had not deserved

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much censure. If they should have been guilty of any weighty crime, they should be condemned by the magistrates to public labour for a more or less considerable time. A hut should be given to the new citizens, with ground sufficient to make a small garden, and the treasury should be at the expence of this establishment. No regulation should deprive these men, become free, of the power of extending the property which shall have been gratuitously bestowed upon them. To put such restraints upon their activity and their intelligence, would be to lose, by absurd laws, the fruits of so laudable an institution.

THIS arrangement, according to all appearances, would be attended with the happiest effects. The population of the blacks, which is at present checked by the regret of bringing into the world none but beings who are condemned to misfortune and infamy, will make a rapid progress. This offspring will be most tenderly taken care of by those very mothers, who often took inexpressible delight in stifling them, or in seeing them perish. These men, accustomed to occupation, in expectation of certain liberty, and who will not have an extent of property sufficient for their subsistence, will sell their labours to whomsoever would be inclined or able to pay for them. Their work will indeed cost more than that of the slaves, but it will also be more profitable. A greater degree of labour, will give a greater abundance of productions to the colonies, which will be enabled by their riches, to acquire a greater quantity of merchandize from the mother country.

Is it then apprehended, that the facility of acquiring subsistence without labour, on a soil naturally fertile, and of dispensing with the want of clothes, would plunge these men in idleness? Why then do not the inhabitants of Europe confine themselves to such labours as are of indispensable necessity? Why do they exhaust their powers in laborious employments which tend only to the gratification of a few momentary fancies? There are amongst us a thousand professions, some more laborious than others, which owe their origin to our institutions. Human laws have given rise to a variety of factitious wants, which otherwise would never have had an existence. By disposing of every species of property according to their capricious institutions, they have subjected an infinite number of people to the imperious will of their fellow-creatures, so far as even to make them sing and dance for subsistence. We have amongst us beings, formed like ourselves, who have consented to bury themselves under mountains, in order to furnish us with metals, and with copper, which may perhaps poison us: why do we imagine that the Negroes are less dupes and less foolish than the Europeans?

WHILE we are restoring these unhappy beings to liberty, we must be careful to subject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our superfluities. We must give them a country, give them interests to study, productions to cultivate, and articles of consumption agreeable to their respective tastes, and our colonies will never want hands,

hands, which being eased of their chains, will become more active and robust.

IN order to overturn the whole system of slavery, which is supported by passions so universal, by laws so authentic, by the emulation of such powerful nations, by prejudices still more powerful, to what tribunal shall we refer the cause of humanity, which so many men are in confederacy to betray? Sovereigns of the earth, you alone can bring about this revolution. If you do not sport with the rest of mortals, if you do not regard the power of kings as the right of a successful plunder, and the obedience of subjects as artfully obtained from their ignorance, reflect on your own obligations. Refuse the sanction of your authority to the infamous and criminal traffic of men turned into so many herds of cattle, and this trade will cease. For once unite, for the happiness of the world, those powers and designs which have been so often exerted for its ruin. If some one among you would venture to found the expectation of this opulence and grandeur on the generosity of all the rest, he instantly becomes an enemy of mankind, who ought to be destroyed. You may carry fire and sword into his territories. Your armies will soon be inspired with the sacred enthusiasm of humanity. You will then perceive what difference virtue makes between men who succour the oppressed, and mercenaries who serve tyrants.

BUT what am I saying? Let the ineffectual calls of humanity be no longer pleaded with the people

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ple and their masters: perhaps, they have never been attended to in any public transactions. If then, ye nations of Europe, interest alone can exert it's influence over you, listen to me once more. Your slaves stand in no need either of your generosity or your counsels, in order to break the sacrilegious yoke of their oppression. Nature speaks a more powerful language than philosophy, or interest. Already have two colonies of fugitive Negroes been established, to whom treaties and power give a perfect security from your attempts. These are so many indications of the impending storm, and the Negroes only want a chief, sufficiently courageous, to lead them on to vengeance and slaughter.

WHERE is this great man, whom nature owes to her afflicted, oppressed, and tormented children? Where is he? He will undoubtedly appear, he will shew himself, he will lift up the sacred standard of liberty. This venerable signal will collect around him the companions of his misfortunes. They will rush on with more impetuosity than torrents; they will leave behind them, in all parts, indelible traces of their just resentment. Spaniards, Portugeze, English, French, Dutch, all their tyrants will become the victims of fire and sword. The plains of America will suck up with transport the blood which they have so long expected, and the bones of so many wretches, heaped upon one another, during the course of so many centuries, will bound for joy. The Old World will join it's plaudits to those of the New. In all parts the name of the hero, who

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shall have restored the rights of the human species will be blest; in all parts trophies will be erected to his glory. Then will the *black code* be no more; and the *white code* will be a dreadful one, if the conqueror only regards the right of reprisals.

TILL this revolution shall take place, the Negroes groan under the oppression of labours, the description of which cannot but interest us more and more in their destiny.

The culture of the soil of the American Archipelago, hath been hitherto neglected.

THE soil of the American islands hath little resemblance to our's. It's productions are very different, as well as the manner of cultivating them. Except some pot-herbs, nothing is sow'n there; every thing is planted.

TOBACCO being the first production that was cultivated, as it's roots do not strike deep, and the least injury destroys them, a simple harrow was only employed to prepare the lands which were to receive it, and to extirpate the noxious weeds which would have choked it. This custom still prevails.

WHEN more troublesome cultures began to be attended to, and which were less delicate, the hoe was made use of to work and weed; but it was not employed over the whole extent of ground that was to be cultivated. It was thought sufficient to dig a hole for the reception of the plant.

THE inequality of the ground, most commonly full of hillocks, probably gave rise to this custom. It might be apprehended, that the rains, which always fall in torrents, should destroy, by the cavities they make, the land that had been turned

up,

up. Indolence, and the want of means at the time of the first settlements, extended this practice to the most level plains, and custom, which no one ever thought of deviating from, gave a sanction to it. At length some planters, who were adventurous enough to discard former prejudices, thought of using the plough, and it is probable, that this method will become general wherever it shall be found practicable. It has every circumstance in it's favour that can make it desirable.

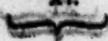
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ALL the lands of the islands were virgin lands, when the Europeans undertook to clear them. The first that were occupied, have for a long time yielded less produce than they did in the beginning. Those which have been successively cleared, are likewise more or less exhausted, in proportion to the period of their first cultivation. Whatever their fertility at first might have been, they all lose it in process of time, and they will soon cease to require the labours of those who cultivate them, if art be not exerted to assist nature.

It is a principle of agriculture generally admitted by naturalists, that the earth becomes fertile only in proportion as it can receive the influence of the air, and of all those meteors which are directed by this powerful agent, such as fogs, dews, and rains. Continual tillage can only procure this advantage to it: the islands in particular constantly require it. The wet season must be chosen for turning up the ground, the dryness of which would be an impediment to fertility.

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Ploughing

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Ploughing cannot be attended with any inconvenience in lands that are level. One might prevent the danger of having shelving grounds destroyed by storms, by making furrows transversely, on a line that should cross that of the slope of the hillocks. If the declivity were so steep that the cultivated grounds could be carried away, notwithstanding the furrows, small drains, something deeper, might be added for the same purpose at particular distances, which would partly break the force and velocity that the steepness of the hills adds to the fall of heavy rains.

THE utility of the plough would not be merely limited to the producing a greater portion of the vegetable juice in plants; it would make their produce the more certain. The islands are the regions of insects: their multiplication there is favoured by a constant heat, and one race succeeds another without interruption. The extensive ravages they make are well known. Frequent and successive ploughing would check the progress of this devouring race, disturb their reproduction, kill great numbers of them, and destroy greatest part of their eggs. Perhaps, this expedient would not be sufficient against the rats which ships have brought from Europe into America, where they have increased to that degree, that they often destroy one-third of the crops. The industry of slaves might also be called in to assist, and their vigilance might be encouraged by some gratification.

THE use of the plough would probably introduce the custom of manuring; it is already known



on the greatest part of the coast. The manure there in use is called Varech, a kind of sea-plant, which, when ripe, is detached from the water, and driven on the strand by the motion of the waves; it is very productive of fertility; but if employed without previous preparation, it communicates to the sugar a disagreeable bitterness, which must arise from the salts that are impregnated with oily particles abounding in sea-plants. Perhaps, in order to take off this bitter taste, it would only be necessary to burn the plant, and make use of the ashes. The salts being by this operation detached from the oily particles, and triturated by vegetation, would circulate more freely in the sugar-cane, and impart to it purer juices.

The interior parts of this country have not till lately been dunged. Necessity will make this practice become more general; and in time the soil of America will be assisted by the same methods of cultivation as the soil of Europe; but with more difficulty. In the islands where herds of cattle are not so numerous, and where there is seldom the convenience of stables, it is necessary to have recourse to other kinds of manure, and multiply them as much as possible, in order to compensate the quality by the quantity. The greatest resource will always be found in the weeds, from which useful plants must be constantly freed. These must be collected together in heaps, and left to putrify. The colonists who cultivate coffee, have set the example of this practice; but with that degree of indolence which the heat of the climate occasions in all manual labour. A pile of  
weeds

weeds is heaped up at the bottom of the coffee-trees, without regarding whether these weeds, which they do not even take the trouble of covering with earth, heat the tree, and harbour the insects that prey upon it. They have been equally negligent in the management of their cattle.

ALL the domestic quadrupeds of Europe were imported into America by the Spaniards; and it is from their settlements that the colonies of other nations have been supplied. Excepting hogs, which are found to thrive best in countries abounding with aquatic productions, insects and reptiles, and are become larger and better tasted, all these animals have degenerated, and the few that remain in the islands are very small. Though the badness of the climate may contribute something to this degeneracy, the want of care is, perhaps, the principal cause. They always lie in the open field. They never have either bran or oats given them, and are at grass the whole year. The colonists have not even the attention of dividing the meadows into separate portions, in order to make their cattle to pass from one into the other. They always feed on the same spot, without allowing the grass time to spring up again. Such pastures can only produce weak and watery juices. Too quick a vegetation prevents them from being properly ripened. Hence the animals, destined for the food of man, afford only flesh that is rough and flabby.

THOSE animals, which are reserved for labour, do but very little service. The oxen draw but light loads, and that not all day long. They are  
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always four in number. They are not yoked by the head, but by the neck, after the Spanish custom. They are not stimulated by the goad, but driven by a whip; and are directed by two drivers.

WHEN the roads do not allow the use of carriages, mules are employed instead of oxen. These are saddled after a simpler method than in Europe, but much inferior to it in strength. A mat is fixed on their back, to which two hooks are suspended on each side, the first that are casually met with in the woods. Thus equipped, they carry, at most, half the weight that European horses can bear, and go over but half the ground in the same time.

THE pace of their horses is not so slow: they have preserved something of the fleetness, fire, and docility of those of Andalusia, from which they derived their pedigree; but their strength is not answerable to their spirit. It is necessary to breed a great number of them, in order to obtain that service which might be had from a smaller number in Europe. Three or four of them must be harnessed to very light carriages used by indolent people for making excursions, which they call journeys; but which with us would only be an airing.

THE degeneracy of the animals in the islands might have been prevented, retarded, or diminished, if care had been taken to renew them by a foreign race. Stallions brought from colder or warmer countries, would in some degree have corrected the influence of the climate, feed, and rearing.

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rearing. With the mares of the country they would have produced a new race far superior, as they would have come from a climate different from that into which they were imported.

It is very extraordinary, that so simple an idea should never have occurred to any of the planters; and that there has been no legislature attentive enough to it's interests, to substitute in it's settlements the bison to the common ox. Every one who is acquainted with this animal, must recollect that the bison has a softer and brighter skin, a disposition less dull and stupid than our bullock, and a quickness and docility far superior. It is swift in running, and when mounted can supply the place of a horse. It thrives as well in southern countries, as the ox that we employ loves cold or temperate climates. This species is know'n only in the eastern islands, and in the greater part of Africa. If custom had less influence than it commonly has, even over the wisest governments, they would have been sensible, that this useful animal was singularly well adapted to the great Archipelago of America, and that it would be very easy to export it, at a very small expence, from the Gold Coast, or the coast of Angola.

Two rich planters, one in Barbadoes, the other in St. Domingo, equally stricken with the weakness of those animals, which, according to established custom, were employed in drawing and carrying, endeavoured to substitute the camel to them. This experiment, formerly tried without success in Peru by the Spaniards, did not succeed

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better here, nor was it possible it should. It is well known, that though a native of hot countries, it dreads excessive heat, and can as little thrive as propagate under the burning sky of the torrid zone, as in the temperate ones. It would have been better to have tried the buffalo.

The buffalo is a very dirty animal, and of a fierce disposition. Its caprices are sudden and frequent. Its skin is firm, light, and almost impenetrable, and its horn serviceable for many purposes. Its flesh is black and hard, and disagreeable to the taste and smell. The milk of the female is not so sweet, but much more copious than that of the cow. Reared like the ox, to which it hath a striking resemblance, it greatly surpasses it in strength and swiftness. Two buffaloes yoked to a waggon by means of a ring passed through their nose, will draw as much as four of the stoutest bullocks, and in less than half the time. They owe this double superiority to the advantage of having longer legs, and a more considerable bulk of body, the whole power of which is employed in drawing, because they naturally carry their head and neck low. As this animal is originally a native of the torrid zone, and is larger, stronger, and more manageable in proportion to the heat of the country it is in, it cannot ever have been doubted that it would have been of great service in the Caribbee Islands, and have propagated happily there. This is highly probable, especially since the successful experiments that have been made of it at Guiana.

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INDOLENCE, and old established customs, which have hindered the propagation of domestic animals, have no less impeded the success of transplanting vegetables. Several kinds of fruit-trees have been successively carried to the islands. Those that have not died, are some wild stocks, the fruit of which is neither beautiful nor good. The greatest part have degenerated very fast, because they have been exposed to a very strong vegetation, ever lively, and constantly quickened by the copious dews of the night, and the strong heats of the day, which are the two grand principles of fertility. Perhaps an intelligent observer would have know'n how to profit from these circumstances, and have been able to raise tolerable fruit; but such men are not found in the colonies. If our kitchen herbs have succeeded better; if they are always springing up again, ever green, and ripe; the reason is, that they had not to struggle against the climate, where they were assisted by a moist and clammy earth, which is proper for them; and because they required no trouble. The labour of the slaves is employed in the cultivation of more useful productions.

The slaves are employed first to get their subsistence. Rich productions are afterwards expected from them.

THE principal labours of these unhappy men are directed towards those objects that are indispensable to the preservation of their wretched existence. Before their arrival in the islands, potatoes and yams grew without labour, in the midst of the forests. The potatoe is a species of convolvulus, which grows up gradually; the leaves of which are alternate, angular, and cordiform;

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form; and it's flower resembles in figure, and in the number of it's parts, that of the ordinary convolvulus. The stem of the yam is climbing, herbaceous, furnished with opposite or alternate leaves, cut in the shape of a heart, and which shoot forth from their axillæ clusters of male flowers on one stem, and female ones upon another, each provided with one calix that hath six divisions. The male flowers have six stamina. The pistil of the female flowers is surmounted with three styles. It adheres to the calix, and becomes, along with it, a close capsula, with three cells filled with two seeds. These plants, which are sufficiently multiplied by nature alone for the subsistence of a small number of savages, must have been cultivated, when it became necessary to feed a more considerable population. This was accordingly resolved upon, and other plants were joined to them, drawn from the country itself of the new consumers.

AFRICA hath furnished the islands with a shrub, which grows to the height of four feet, lives four years, and is useful throughout it's whole duration. It's leaves are composed of three smaller elongated leaves, united on one common petal. It's flowers, which are yellowish, and irregular, as those of leguminous plants, are disposed in clusters at the extremity of the branches. It bearys pods, which contain a number of a kind of pea, which is very wholesome and very nourishing. This shrub is called the Angola pea. It flourishes equally in lands naturally barren, and in those

those the salts of which have been exhausted. For this reason, the best managers among the colonists never fail to sow it on all those parts of their estates, which in other hands would remain uncultivated.

THE most valuable present, however, which the islands have received from Africa, is the manioc. Most historians have considered this plant as a native of America. It does not appear on what foundation this opinion is supported, though pretty generally received. But were the truth of it demonstrated, the Caribbee Islands would yet stand indebted for the manioc to the Europeans, who imported it thither along with the Africans, who fed upon it. Before our invasions, the intercourse between the continent of America and these isles was so trifling, that a production of the continent might be unknow'n in the Archipelago of the Antilles. It is certain, however, that the savages who offered our first navigators bananas, yams, and potatoes, offered them no manioc; that the Caribs in Dominica and St. Vincent had it from us; that the character of the savages did not render them fit to conduct a culture requiring so much attention; that this culture can only be carried on in very open fields; and that in the forests, with which these islands were overgrow'n, there were no clear and uncumbered spaces of ground above five-and-twenty toises square. In short, it is beyond a doubt, that the use of the manioc was not know'n till after the arrival of the Negroes; and that from

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time immemorial it hath constituted the principal food of a great part of Africa.

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HOWEVER this may be, the manioc is a plant which is propagated by slips. It is set in furrows that are five or six inches deep, which are filled with the same earth that has been digged out. These furrows are at the distance of two feet, or two feet and a half from each other, according to the nature of the ground. The shrub rises a little above six feet, and it's trunk is about the thickness of the arm. In proportion as it grows, the lower leaves fall off, leaving a semicircular impression on the stem, and only a few remain towards the top; it's wood is tender and brittle. They are always alternate, and deeply cut into several lobes. The extremity of the branches is terminated by clusters of male and female flowers blended together. The calix of the first is in five divisions, and contains ten stamina; that of the second is composed of five pieces. The pistil which they surround is surmounted with three hairy styles, and becomes a rough capsula, with three divisions, filled with three seeds. There is no part of the plant useful, except the root, which is tuberosc, and at the end of eight months, or more, grows to the size of a large radish. There are several varieties of them distinguished, which differ in their bulk, their colour, and the time they take in coming to maturity. This is a delicate plant, and the culture of it is laborious; it is incommoded by the vicinity of every kind of herb, and it requires a dry and light soil.

WHEN the roots have acquired their proper size and maturity, they are plucked up, and undergo various preparations, to render them fit for the food of man. Their first skin must be scraped, they must be washed, grated, and afterwards put into a press to extract the juice, which is considered as a very active poison. Any thing that might remain of the venomous principles they contained, is completely evaporated by roasting. When they do not yield any more smoke, they are taken off the iron plate used for this operation, and suffered to cool.

THE root of the manioc grated and reduced into little grains by roasting, is called flour of manioc. The paste of manioc is called cassava, which hath been converted into a cake by roasting, without stirring it. It would be dangerous to eat as much cassava as flour of manioc, because the former is less roasted. Both keep a long time, and are very nourishing, but a little difficult of digestion. Though this food seems at first insipid, there are a great number of white people who have been born in these islands, who prefer it to the best wheat. Most of the Spaniards in general use it constantly. The French feed their slaves with it. The other European nations, who have settlements in the islands, are little acquainted with the manioc. It is from North America that these colonies receive their subsistence; so that if by any accident, which may very possibly take place, their connections with this fertile country were interrupted but for four months, they would be

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exposed to perish by famine. An avidity that hath no bounds, makes the colonists of the islands insensible of this imminent danger. All, at least the greater part, find their advantage in turning the whole industry of their slaves towards those productions which are the objects of commerce. The principal of these are indigo, cochineal, cocoa, arnotto, cotton, coffee, and sugar. We have mentioned the three first in the history of the regions under the dominion of Castile; and we will now describe the rest.

THE arnotto is a red dye, called by the Spaniards *achiote*, into which they dip the white wool, whatever colour they intend to give to it. The tree that yields this dye is as high, and more bushy than the plum-tree. It hath a reddish bark; it's leaves are large, alternate, cordiform, and supplied at their base with two stipulæ or membranes, which fall off early. The flowers, disposed in clusters, have a calix of five divisions, and ten petals of a slight purple colour, five of which are internal, and smaller. They are found, as well as a great number of stamina, under the pistil, which is crowned with a single style. The fruit is a capsula of a deep red colour, stuck with soft points, wide at it's base, and narrowed at the top. It opens longitudinally into two great valves, furnished internally with a longitudinal receptacle, covered with seeds. These seeds are done over with a red substance, which may be extracted from them, and which is, properly speaking, the arnotto. This tree flowers, and bears fruit twice a year.

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XI.

Of the culture of arnotto.

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XI.

As soon as one of the eight or ten pods which each cluster contains opens of itself, the rest may be gathered. All the seeds are then to be taken out, and throw'n directly into large troughs full of water. When the fermentation begins, the seeds must be strongly stirred up with wooden spatulas, till the arnotto be entirely taken off. The whole is then poured into sieves made of rushes, which retain all the solid parts, and let out a thick, reddish, and fetid liquor, into iron coppers prepared to receive it. As it boils, the scum is skimmed off, and kept in large pans. When the liquor yields no more scum, it is throw'n away as useless, and the scum poured back into the copper.

THE scum, which is to be boiled for ten or twelve hours, must be constantly stirred with a wooden spatula, to prevent it's sticking to the copper, or turning black. When it is boiled enough, and somewhat hardened, it is spread upon boards to cool. It is then made up into cakes of two or three pounds weight, and the whole process is finished.

Cultivation  
of cotton.

THE cotton shrub, that supplies our manufactures, requires a dry and stony soil, and thrives best in grounds that have already been tilled. Not but that the plant appears to thrive better in fresh lands, than in those which are exhausted; but while it produces more wood, it bears less fruit.

AN eastern exposition is fittest for it. The culture of it begins in March and April, and continues during the first spring rains. Holes are made

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made at seven or eight feet distance from each other, and a few seeds throw'n in. When they are grow'n to the height of five or six inches, all the stems are pulled up, except two or three of the strongest. These are cropped twice before the end of August. This precaution is the more necessary, as the wood bears no fruit till after the second pruning; and if the shrub were suffered to grow more than four feet high, the crops would not be greater, nor the fruit so easily gathered.

THIS useful plant will not thrive, if great attention be not paid to pluck up the weeds which grow about it. Frequent rains will promote it's growth, but they must not be incessant. Dry weather is particularly necessary in the months of March and April, which is the time of gathering the cotton, to prevent it from being discoloured and spotted.

In order to renew this shrub, it is cut every two or three years down to the root, which produces several sprigs. Leaves grow upon them, with from three to five lobes, alternately disposed upon the stems, and accompanied with two stipulæ. At the end of eight or nine months, there appear some yellow flowers, streaked with red, rather large, and resembling the mallow flower in the structure and the number of their parts. The pistil, placed in the middle, becomes a pod, of the size of a pigeon's egg, with three or four cells. Each cell, on bursting, exhibits several roundish seeds, surrounded with a white kind of wadding, which is the cotton, properly so called.

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XI.

This bursting of the fruit indicates it's maturity, and the time proper for gathering it.

WHEN it is all gathered in, the seeds must be picked out from the wool. This is done by means of a cotton-mill, which is an engine composed of two rods of hard wood, about eighteen feet long, eighteen lines in circumference, and fluted two lines deep. They are confined at both ends, so as to leave no more distance between them than is necessary for the seed to slip through. At one end is a kind of little millstone, which being put in motion with the foot, turns the rods in contrary directions. They separate the cotton, and throw out the seed contained in it.

Cultivation  
of coffee.

THE coffee tree, originally the produce of Arabia, where nature, scantily supplying the necessities of life, scatters it's luxuries with a lavish hand, was long the favourite plant of that fortunate country. The unsuccessful attempts made by the Europeans in the cultivation of it, induced them to believe that the inhabitants of that country steeped the fruit in boiling water, or dried it in the oven before they sold it, in order to secure to themselves a trade from which they derived most of their wealth. This opinion still prevailed, 'till the tree itself had been conveyed to Batavia, and afterwards to the Island of Bourbon, and to Surinam, when it was demonstrated from experience, that the seed of the coffee-tree, as well as of many other plants, will never come to any thing, unless it be put fresh into the ground.

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THIS tree, which flourishes only in those climates where the winters are extremely mild, hath smooth, entire, oval leaves, and sharp like those of the laurel; they are, moreover, opposite, and separate at their base by an intermediate scale. The flowers, disposed in rings, have a white corolla, resembling that of jessmine, charged with five stamina, and bearing themselves upon the pistil, which being inclosed in a calix of five divisions, becomes along with it a berry, which is at first green, and afterwards reddish, of the size of a small cherry, and filled with two kernels, or beans, of a hard, and as it were horny substance. These kernels, which are externally convex, and flattened and furrowed on the side where they touch each other, yield, when they have been roasted and reduced to powder, a very agreeable infusion, fit to keep off sleep, and the use of which, antiently adopted in Asia, hath been insensibly spread over the greatest part of the globe.

THE best and highest priced coffee is always that which comes from Arabia; but the islands of America, and the coasts of this New World, which cultivate it from the beginning of the century, furnish a much greater quantity. It is not equally good every where. That which grows in a favourable soil, and in an eastern exposure, which enjoys the freshness of the dews and of the rains, and which is ripened by a moderate heat, is superior to any other.

THE coffee plants are to be planted in holes of ten or twelve inches, and at intervals of six,

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seven,

seven, eight, or nine feet, according to the nature of the soil. They would naturally grow to the height of eighteen or twenty feet, but they are not allowed to exceed five, in order that their fruit may be conveniently gathered. When thus cropped, they spread their branches in such a manner as to intermix with each other.

SOMETIMES this tree rewards the labours of the cultivator as early as the third year, and at other times only at the fifth or sixth. Sometimes it doth not produce a pound of coffee, and at other times it yields as much as three or four pounds. In some places it does not last more than twelve or fifteen years, and in others five-and-twenty or thirty. These variations depend much upon the soil on which it is planted.

THE coffee of America remained for a long time in a state of imperfection, which brought it into disgrace. No care was taken of it; but this negligence hath gradually diminished. It is only after having been well washed, and deprived of it's gum, and after having received all necessary preparations, that it is at present carried to the mill.

THIS mill is composed of two wooden rollers, furnished with plates of iron eighteen inches long, and ten or twelve in diameter. These are moveable, and are made to approach a third, which is fixed, and which they call the chops. Above the rollers is a hopper, in which the coffee is put, from whence it falls between the rollers and the chops, where it is stripped of it's skin, and divided into two parts, as may be seen

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by the form of it, after it hath undergone this operation, being flat on one side, and round on the other. From this machine it falls into a brass sieve, where the skin drops between the wires, while the fruit slides over them into baskets, placed ready to receive it. It is then throw'n into a vessel full of water, where it soaks for one night, and is afterwards thoroughly washed. When the whole is finished, and well dried, it is put into another machine, which is called the peeling mill. This is a wooden grinder, which is turned vertically upon it's trendle by a mule or a horse. In passing over the dried coffee, it takes off the parchment, which is nothing more than a thin skin, that detaches itself from the berry as it grows dry. The parchment being removed, it is taken out of the mill, to be winnowed in another, which is called the winnowing mill. This machine is provided with four pieces of tin, fixed upon an axle, which is turned by a slave with considerable force; and the wind that is made by the motion of these plates clears the coffee of all the pellicles that are mixed with it. It is afterwards put upon a table, where the broken berries, and any filth that may happen to remain, are separated by the Negroes. After these operations the coffee is fit for sale.

THE price of this berry was at first very trifling. The excessive passion that all Europe took for it raised it's value exceedingly: and for that reason it's cultivation was carried on with great alacrity, after the peace of 1763. The produce soon exceeded the consumption, and for se-

veral years past all the planters have been ruined. They will not recover 'till after a proper equilibrium hath been established; and it is not in our power to fix the period of this happy revolution.

THE cane that yields the sugar, is a kind of reed, which commonly rises eight or nine feet, and sometimes higher, according to the nature of the soil. It's most common diameter is of one inch. It is covered with a rind, which is not very hard, and contains a kind of pulp, more or less compact, full of a sweet and viscid juice. It is intersected at intervals with joints, from which originate leaves, that are long, narrow, sharp at their edges, and sulcated at their basis. The lower ones fall off as the stem grows. This is terminated by a silky pannicle, of a considerable size, every flower of which hath three stamina and one single seed, covered with a two-leaved calix, with a shaggy surface.

THIS plant hath been cultivated from the earliest antiquity in some countries of Asia and Africa. About the middle of the twelfth century, it became know'n in Sicily, from whence it passed into the southern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards transplanted into Madeira and the Canaries. From these islands it was brought into the New World, where it succeeded as well as if it had been indigenous there.

ALL soils are not equally proper for it. Such as are rich and strong, low and marshy, environed with woods, or lately cleared, however large and tall the canes may be, produce only a juice

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juice that is aqueous, insipid, of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified, and preserved. Canes planted in a ground where they soon meet with soft stone or rock, have but a very short duration, and yield but little sugar. A light, porous, and deep soil, is by nature most favourable to this production.

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THE general method of cultivating it, is to prepare a large field; to make at the distance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and six deep; to lay in these two, and sometimes three slips of about a foot each, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in the slips issues a stem, which in time becomes a sugar-cane.

CARE should be taken to clear it constantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow around it. This labour only continues for six months. The canes then are sufficiently thick and near one another to destroy every thing that might be prejudicial to their fertility. They are commonly suffered to grow eighteen months, and are seldom cut at any other time.

FROM the stock of these issue suckers, which are in their turn cut fifteen months after. This second cutting yields only half of the produce of the first. The planters sometimes make a third cutting, and even a fourth, which are always successively less, however good the soil may be. Nothing, therefore, but want of hands for planting afresh, can oblige a planter to expect more than two crops from his cane.

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THESE crops are not made in all the colonies at the same time. In the Danish, Spanish, and Dutch settlements, they begin in January and continue till October. This method doth not imply any fixed season for the maturity of the sugar-cane. The plant, however, like others, must have it's progress; and it hath been justly observed to be in flower in the months of November and December. It must necessarily follow, from the custom these nations have adopted of continuing to gather their crops for ten months without intermission, that they cut some canes which are not ripe enough, and others that are too ripe, and then the fruit hath not the requisite qualities. The time of gathering them should be at a fixed season, and probably the months of March and April are the fittest for it; because all the sweet fruits are ripe at that time, while the sour ones do not arrive to a state of maturity till the months of July and August.

THE English cut their canes in March and April; but they are not induced to do this on account of their ripeness. The drought that prevails in their islands renders the rains which fall in September necessary to their planting; and as the canes are eighteen months in growing, this period always brings them to the precise point of maturity.

IN order to extract the juice of the canes, when cut, which ought to be done in four and twenty hours, otherwise it would turn sour, they are passed between two cylinders of iron, or copper, placed perpendicularly on an immoveable table. The

motion



motion of the cylinders is regulated by an horizontal wheel turned by oxen, or horses; but in water-mills this horizontal wheel derives it's movement from a perpendicular one, the circumference of which meeting a current of water, receives an impression which turns it upon it's axis: this motion is from right to left, if the current of water strike the upper part of the wheel; from left to right, if it strike the lower part.

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FROM the reservoir, where the juice of the cane is received, it falls into a boiler where those particles of water are made to evaporate that are most easily separated. This liquor is poured into another boiler, where a moderate fire makes it throw up it's first scum. When it has lost it's clammy consistence it is made to run into a third boiler, where it throws up much more scum by means of an increased degree of heat. It then receives the last boiling in a fourth cauldron, the fire of which is three times stronger than the first.

THIS last fire determines the success of the process. If it hath been well managed, the sugar forms crystals that are larger or smaller, more or less bright, in proportion to the greater or less quantity of oil they abound with. If the fire hath been too violent, the substance is reduced to a black and charcoal extract, which cannot produce any more essential salt. If the fire hath been too moderate, there remains a considerable quantity of extraneous oils, which stain the sugar, and render it thick and blackish; so that when it is to be dried, it becomes always porous, because  
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the spaces which these oils filled up, remain empty.

As soon as the sugar is cool, it is poured into earthen vessels of a conic figure; the base of the cone is open, and it's top hath a hole, through which the water is carried off that hath not formed any crystals. This is called the syrup. After this water hath flowed through, the raw sugar remains, which is rich, brown, and salt.

THE greatest part of the islands leave to the Europeans the care of giving sugar the other preparations which are necessary to make it fit for use. This practice spares the expence of large buildings, leaves them more Negroes to employ in agriculture, allows them to make their cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ships for exportation.

THE French planters alone have thought it their interest to manage their sugars in a different manner. To whatever degree of exactness the juice of the sugar-cane may be boiled, there always remains an infinite number of foreign particles attached to the salts of the sugar, to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. These give it a dead colour, and the taste of tartar, of which they endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called earthing. This consists in putting again the raw sugars into a new earthen vessel, in every respect similar to that we have mentioned. The surface of the sugar, throughout the whole extent of the basis of the cone, is then covered with a white marl,

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marl, on which water is poured. In filtering it through this marl, the water carries with it a portion of a calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different saline particles, when this earth meets with oily substances to which it is united. This water is afterwards drained off through the opening at the top of the mould, and a second syrup is procured, which they call melasses, and which is so much the worse, in proportion as the sugar was finer; that is, contained less extraneous oil: for then the calcareous earth, dissolved by the water, passes alone, and carries with it all its acrid particles.

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THIS earthing is followed by the last preparation, which is effected by fire, and serves for the evaporating of the moisture with which the salts are impregnated during the process of earthing. In order to do this, the sugar is taken in its whole form out of the conical vessel of earth, and conveyed into a stove which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat, where it is left till the sugar is become very dry, which commonly happens at the end of three weeks.

THOUGH the expence which this process requires, be in general useless, since the earthed sugar is commonly refined in Europe in the same manner as the raw sugar; all the inhabitants of the French islands, however, who are able to purify their sugars in this manner, generally take this trouble. To a nation whose navy is weak, this method is extremely advantageous, as it enables it in times of war, to convey into its own mother-country the most valuable cargoes with a less number

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number of ships than if only raw sugars were sent,

ONE may judge from the species of sugars, but much better from that which has undergone the earthing, of what sort of salts it is composed. If the soil, where the cane hath been planted, be hard, stony, and sloping, the salts will be white, angular, and the grain very large. If the soil be marly, the colour will be the same; but the granulations, being cut on fewer sides, will reflect less light. If the soil be rich and spongy, the granulations will be nearly spherical, the colour will be dusky, the sugar will slip under the finger, without any unequal feel. This last kind of sugar is considered as the worst.

WHATEVER may be the reason, those places that have a northern aspect produce the best sugar; and marly grounds yield the greatest quantity. The preparations which the sugar that grows in these kinds of soil require, are less tedious and troublesome than those which the sugar requires that is produced in a rich land. But these observations admit of infinite variety, the investigation of which is properly the province of chymists, or speculative planters.

BESIDE sugar, the cane furnishes syrup, the value of which is only a twelfth of that of the price of sugars. The best syrup is that which runs from the first vessel into the second, when the raw sugar is made. It is composed of the grosser particles, which carry along with them the salts of sugar, whether it contain or separate them in it's passage. The syrup of an inferior kind, which is

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more bitter, and less in quantity, is formed by the water which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles of the sugar when it is washed. By means of fire, some sugar is besides extracted from the first syrup, which, after this operation, is of less value than the second.

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BOTH these kinds are carried into the north of Europe, where the people use them instead of butter and sugar. In North America they make the same use of them, where they are further employed to give fermentation and an agreeable taste to a liquor called *Pruss*, which is only an infusion of the bark of a tree.

THIS syrup is still more useful, by the secret that hath been discovered of converting it by distillation, into a spirituous liquor, which the English call *Rum*, and the French *Taffia*. This process, which is very simple, is made by mixing a third part of syrup with two-thirds of water. When these two substances have sufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean still, where the distillation is made as usual. The liquor that is draw'n off is equal to the quantity of the syrup employed.

SUCH is the method which, after many experiments and variations, all the islands have generally adopted in the cultivation of sugar. It is undoubtedly a good one; but, perhaps, it hath not acquired that degree of perfection of which it is capable. If instead of planting canes in large fields, the ground were parcelled out into divisions of sixty feet, leaving between two planted

divisions a space of land uncultivated, such a method would probably be attended with great advantages. In the modern practice, none but the canes which grow on the borders are good, and attain to a proper degree of maturity. Those in the middle of the field in part miscarry, and ripen badly, because they are deprived of a current of air, which only acts by it's weight, and seldom gets to the foot of these canes, that are always covered with the leaves.

In this new system of plantation, those portions of land which had not been cultivated would be most favourable for reproduction; when the crops of the planted divisions had been made, which in their turn would be left to recover. It is probable that by this method as much sugar might be obtained as by the present practice; with this additional advantage, that it would require fewer slaves to cultivate it. One may judge what the cultivation of sugar would then produce, by what it now yields, notwithstanding it's imperfections.

On a plantation fixed on a good ground, and sufficiently stocked with Negroes, with cattle, and all other necessaries, two men will cultivate a square of canes, that is a hundred geometrical paces in every direction. This square must yield on an average sixty quintals of raw sugar. The common price of a quintal in Europe will be twenty livres\*, after deducting all the expences. This makes an income of 600 livres†, for the labour of each man. One hundred and fifty livres‡, to which

\* 16s. 8d.

† 25l.

‡ 6l. 5s.

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the price of syrup and rum must be added, will defray the expences of cultivation; that is to say, for the maintenance of slaves, for their loss, for their disorders, for their clothes, for repairing their utensils, and other accidents. The net produce of an acre and a half of land will then be four hundred and fifty livres\*. It would be difficult to find a culture productive of greater emoluments.

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It may be objected, that this is stating the produce below it's real value, because a square of canes doth not employ two men. But those who would urge such an objection ought to observe, that the making of sugar requires other labours beside those of merely cultivating it, and consequently workmen employed elsewhere than in the fields. The estimate and compensation of these different kinds of service, oblige us to deduct from the produce of a square of plantation, the expence of maintaining two men.

It is chiefly from the produce of sugar that the islands supply their planters with all the articles of convenience and luxury. They draw from Europe, flour, liquors, salt provisions, silks, linens, hardware, and every thing that is necessary for apparel, food, furniture, ornament, convenience, and even luxury. Their consumptions of every kind are prodigious, and must necessarily influence the manners of the inhabitants, the greatest part of whom are rich enough to support them.

It should seem that the Europeans, who have been transplanted into the American islands, must

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no less have degenerated than the animals which they carried over thither. The climate acts on all living beings; but men being less immediately subject to the laws of nature, resist her influence the more, because they are the only beings, who act for themselves. The first colonists, who settled in the Antilles, corrected the activity of a new climate, and a new soil, by the conveniencies which it was in their power to derive from a commerce that was always open with their former country. They learnt to lodge and maintain themselves in a manner the best adapted to their change of situation. They retained the customs of their education, and every thing that could agree with the natural effects of the air they breathed. With these they carried into America the food and customs of Europe, and familiarised to each other beings and productions which nature had separated by an interval of the same extent as a Zone. But of all the primitive customs, the most salutary, perhaps, was that of mingling and dividing the two races by intermarriages.

ALL nations, even the least civilized, have proscribed an union of sexes between the children of the same family; whether it was, that experience or prejudice dictated this law, or chance led them to it. Beings brought up together in infancy, accustomed to see one another continually, in this mutual familiarity, rather contract that indifference which arises from habit, than that lively and impetuous sensation of sympathy, which suddenly affects two beings who never saw one another. If in the savage life, hunger disunites families,

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love undoubtedly must have reunited them. The history, whether true or fabulous, of the rape of the Sabine women, shews that marriage was the first alliance between nations. Thus the blood will have become gradually intermixed, either by the casual meetings occasioned by a wandering life, or by the conventions and agreements of settled communities. The natural advantage of crossing the breed among men, as well as animals, in order to preserve the species from degenerating, is the result of slow experience, and is posterior to the acknowledged utility of uniting families, in order to cement the peace of society. Tyrants soon discovered how far it was proper for them to separate, or connect their subjects, in order to keep them in a state of dependence. They formed men into separate ranks by availing themselves of their prejudices: because this line of division between them became a bond of submission to the sovereign, who maintained his authority by their mutual hatred and opposition. They connected families to each other in every station, because this union totally extinguished every spark of dissention repugnant to the spirit of civil society. Thus the intermixture of pedigrees and families by marriage, hath been rather the result of political institutions, than formed upon the views of nature.

BUT whatever be the natural principle and moral tendency of this custom, it was adopted by Europeans, who were desirous of multiplying in the islands. The greatest part of them either

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married in their own country, before they removed into the New World, or with those who landed there. The European married a Creole, or the Creole an European, whom chance or family connections brought into America. From this happy association hath been formed a peculiar character, which in the two worlds distinguishes the man born under the sky of the New, from parents originally natives of both. The marks of this character will be pointed out with so much the more certainty, as they are taken from the writings of an accurate observer, from whom we have already draw'n some particulars respecting natural history.

THE Creoles are in general well made. There is scarce a single person among them afflicted with those deformities which are so common in other climates. They have all an extreme suppleness in their limbs; whether it is to be attributed to a particular organization adapted to hot countries, to the custom of their being reared without the confinement of swaddling clothes and stays, or to the exercises they are habituated to from their infancy. Their complexion, however, never has that air of vivacity and freshness, which contributes more to beauty than regular features do. As to their colour, when they are in health, it resembles that of persons just recovering from a fit of illness; but this livid complexion, more or less dark, is nearly that of our southern people.

THEIR intrepidity in war hath been signalized by a series of bold actions. There would be no better

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better soldiers, if they were more capable of being disciplined.

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HISTORY does not afford any of those instances of cowardice, treachery, and meanness among them, which fully the annals of all nations. It can hardly be alleged, that a Creole ever did a mean action.

ALL strangers, without exception, find in the islands the most friendly and generous hospitality. This useful virtue is practised with a degree of ostentation, which shews, at least, the honour they attach to it. Their natural propensity to beneficence banishes avarice; and the Creoles are generous in their dealings.

THEY are strangers to dissimulation, craft and suspicion. The pride they take in their frankness, the opinion they have of themselves, together with their extreme vivacity, exclude from their commercial transactions all that mystery and reserve, which stifles natural goodness of disposition, extinguishes the social spirit, and diminishes our sensibility.

A WARM imagination, incapable of any restraint, renders them independent and inconstant in their taste. It perpetually hurries them with fresh ardour into pleasures, to which they sacrifice both their fortune and their whole existence.

A REMARKABLE degree of penetration, a quick facility in seizing all ideas, and expressing themselves with vivacity; the power of combining added to the talent of observation, a happy mixture of all the qualities of the mind and of the heart, which render men capable of the greatest

actions, will make them attempt every thing, when oppression compels them to it.

THE sharp and saline air of the Caribbee islands, deprives the women of that lively colour which is the beauty of their sex. But they have an agreeable and fair complexion, which does not deprive the eyes of all that vivacity and power, that enables them to convey into the soul such strong impressions as are irresistible. As they are extremely sober, they drink nothing but chocolate, coffee, and such spirituous liquors as restore to the organs their tone and vigour enervated by the climate; while the men are continually drinking in proportion to the heat that exhausts them.

THEY are very prolific, and often mothers of ten or twelve children. This fertility arises from love, which strongly attaches them to their husbands; but which also throws them instantly into the arms of another, whenever death hath dissolved the union of a first or second marriage.

JEALOUS even to distraction, they are seldom unfaithful. That indolence which makes them neglect the means of pleasing, the taste which the men have for negro women, their particular manner of life, whether private or public, which precludes the opportunities or temptations to gallantry; these are the best supports of the virtue of these females.

THE solitary kind of manner in which they live in their houses, gives them an air of extreme timidity, which embarrasses them in their intercourse with the world. They lose, even in early life, the spirit of emulation and choice; and this pre-

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vents them from cultivating the agreeable talents of education. They seem to have neither power nor taste for any thing but dancing, which undoubtedly transports and animates them to higher pleasures. This instinct of pleasure attends them through their whole life; whether it be, that they still retain some share of their youthful sensibility, or are stimulated with the recollection of it; or from other reasons which are unknow'n to us.

FROM such a constitution arises an extremely sensible and sympathising character, so that they cannot even bear the sight of misery; though they are, at the same time, rigid and severe with respect to the offices they require of those domestics that are attached to their service. More despotic and inexorable towards their slaves than the men themselves, they feel no remorse in ordering chastisements, the severity of which would be a punishment and a lesson to them, if they were obliged to inflict them themselves, or were witnesses to them.

THIS slavery of the Negroes is, perhaps, the cause from whence the Creoles in part derive a certain character, which makes them appear strange, fantastic, and of an intercourse not much relished in Europe. From their earliest infancy they are accustomed to see a number of tall and stout men about them, whose business it is to conjecture and anticipate their wishes. This first view must immediately inspire them with the most extravagant opinion of themselves. Seldom meeting with any opposition to their caprice, though ever so unreasonable, they assume a spirit of presumption, tyranny, and disdain for a great part of  
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of mankind. Nothing is more insolent than the man who always lives with his inferiors; but when these happen to be slaves, habituated to wait upon children, to dread even their cries, which must expose them to punishment, what must masters become who have never obeyed; wicked men, who have never been punished; and madmen, who are used to put their fellow-creatures in irons?

So cruel an example of dependence gives the Americans that pride which must necessarily be detested in Europe, where a greater equality prevailing among men, teaches them a greater share of mutual respect. Educated without knowing either pain or labour, they are neither able to surmount difficulties, or bear contradiction. Nature hath given them every advantage, and fortune refused them nothing. In this respect, like most kings, they are unhappy, because they have never experienced adversity. If the climate did not strongly excite them to love, they would be ignorant of every real pleasure of the soul: and yet they seldom have the happiness of forming an idea of those passions, which, thwarted by obstacles and refusals, are nourished with tears, and gratified with virtue. If they were not confined by the laws of Europe, which govern them by their wants, and repress or restrain the extraordinary degree of independence they enjoy, they would fall into a softness and effeminacy, which would in time render them the victims of their own tyranny, or would involve them in a state of anarchy,

anarchy, that would subvert all the foundations of their community.

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BUT if they once ceased to have Negroes for slaves, and kings who live at a distance from them for masters, they, perhaps, would become the most astonishing people that ever appeared on earth. The spirit of liberty which they would imbibe from their earliest infancy; the understanding and abilities which they would inherit from Europe; the activity, which the necessity of repelling numerous enemies would inspire; the large colonies they would have to form; the rich commerce they would have to found on an immense cultivation; the ranks and societies they would have to create; and the maxims, laws, and manners they would have to establish on the principles of reason; all these springs of action would, perhaps, make, of an equivocal and miscellaneous race of people, the most flourishing nation that philosophy and humanity could wish for the happiness of the world.

IF ever any fortunate revolution should take place in the world, it will begin in America. After having experienced such devastation, this New World must flourish in its turn, and, perhaps, command the Old. It will become the asylum of our people who have been oppressed by political establishments, or driven away by war. The savage inhabitants will be civilized, and oppressed strangers will become free. But it is necessary that this change should be preceded by conspiracies, commotions, and calamities; and that

that a hard and laborious education should predispose their minds both to act and to suffer.

TO YOUNG Creoles, come into Europe to exercise and practise what we teach you; there to collect, in the valuable remains of our ancient manners, that vigour which we have lost; there to study our weakness, and draw from our follies themselves those lessons of wisdom which produce great events. Leave in America your Negroes, whose condition distresses us, and whose blood, perhaps, is mingled in all those ferments which alter, corrupt, and destroy our population. Fly from an education of tyranny, effeminacy, and vice, which you contract from the habit of living with slaves, whose degraded station inspires you with none of those elevated and virtuous sentiments, which can only give rise to a people that will become celebrated. America hath poured all the sources of corruption on Europe. To complete it's vengeance, it must draw from it all the instruments of it's prosperity. As it hath been destroyed by our crimes, it must be renewed by our vices.

NATURE seems to have destined the Americans to a greater share of happiness than the inhabitants of Europe. They have scarce any illness, except inflammations in the lungs, and pleurisies, which are almost as common in the islands as in all other regions, where the transitions from heat to cold are frequent and sudden. The gout, gravel, stone, apoplexies, and a multitude of other scourges of the human race, which are so fatal

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fatal in other countries, have never made the least ravages there. If the air of the country can be withstood, and the middle age be attained to, this is sufficient to insure a long and happy life. There, old age is not weak, languishing, and beset with those infirmities which affect it in our climate.

In the Caribbee Islands, however, new-born infants are attacked with a disease which seems peculiar to the torrid zone: it is called *tetanos*. If a child receive the impression of the air or wind, if the room where it is just born be exposed to smoke, to too much heat or cold, the disorder shews itself immediately. It first seizes the jaw, which becomes rigid and fixed, so as not to be opened. This spasm soon communicates itself to the other parts of the body; and the child dies for want of being able to take nourishment. If it escape this danger, which threatens the nine first days of its existence, it has nothing to fear. The indulgences which are allowed to children before they are weaned, which is at the end of the twelve months, such as the use of coffee, chocolate, wine, but especially sugar and sweetmeats; these indulgences that are so pernicious to our children, are offered to those of America by nature, which accustoms them in early age to the productions of their climate.

Diseases to which the Europeans are subject in the islands of America.

THE fair sex, naturally weak and delicate, has its infirmities as well as its charms. In the islands they are subject to a weakness, an almost total decay of their strength; an unconquerable aversion

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for all kind of wholesome food, and an irregular craving after every thing that is prejudicial to their health. Salt or spiced food is what they only relish and desire. This disease is a true cachexy, which commonly degenerates into a dropfy. It is attributed to the diminution of the menses in those women who come from Europe, and to the weakness or total suppression of that periodical discharge in Creoles. It might still more properly be attributed to the excessive heat, and the immoderate dampness of the climate, which at length destroys every spring in the animal economy.

THE men, more robust, are liable to more violent complaints. In this vicinity of the equator, they are exposed to a hot and malignant fever, know'n under different names, and indicated by hæmorrhages. The blood, which is boiling under the fervent rays of the sun, is discharged from the nose, eyes, and other parts of the body. Nature, in temperate climates, does not move with such rapidity, but that in the most acute disorders there is time to observe and follow the course she takes. In the islands, her progress is so rapid, that if we delay to attack the disorder as soon as it appears, it's effects are certainly fatal. No sooner is a person seized with sickness, but the physician, the lawyer, and the priest, are all called to his bedside.

THE symptoms of this terrible illness seem to indicate the necessity of bleeding. This operation hath therefore been repeated without measure. Several experiments have at length demon-

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strated that this expedient was fatal. Remedies are now preferred which are capable of moderating this great rarefaction of the blood, and which tend to the dissolution of it, such as bathing, glysters, oxycrate, and even blisters, when the disorder is attended with delirium. We have know'n a professional man of great understanding, who thought that the immediate cause of this malady was the intense heat of the sun; and who affirmed, that those who did not expose themselves to it, most commonly escaped this calamity.

Most of those who survive these attacks recover very slowly, and with difficulty. Several fall into an habitual languor, occasioned by the debility of the whole machine, which the noxious air of the country, and the little nourishment their food supplies, are not able to restore. Hence obstructions, jaundice, and swellings of the spleen are produced, which sometimes terminate in dropsies.

ALMOST all the Europeans who go over to America are exposed to this danger, and frequently the Creoles themselves, on their return from more temperate climates. But it never attacks women whose blood has the natural evacuations, and Negroes, who, born under a hotter climate, are inured by nature, and prepared by free perspiration, for all the ferments that the sun can produce.

THESE violent fevers are certainly owen to the heat of the sun, the rays of which are less oblique,  
and

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and more constant, than in our climates. This heat must undoubtedly thicken the blood, through the excess of perspiration, a want of elasticity in the solids, and a dilatation of the vessels by the impulse of the fluids, whether in proportion to the rarefaction of the air, or the less degree of compression which the surface of the bodies is exposed to in a rarefied atmosphere.

FAR from having recourse to these expedients, which are know'n to be preventatives of the disorder, the inhabitants fall into such excesses as are most likely to hasten and increase it. The strangers who arrive at the Caribbee Islands, are excited by the entertainments they are invited to, the pleasures they partake of, and the kind reception they meet with; every thing induces them to an immoderate indulgence in all the pleasures which custom renders less prejudicial to those who are born under this climate. Feasting, dancing, gaming, late hours, wine, cordials, and frequently the chagrin of disappointment in their chimerical expectations, conspire to add to the ferment of an immoderate heat of the blood, which soon becomes inflamed.

WITH such indulgence, it is scarce possible to resist the heats of this climate, when even the greatest precautions are not sufficient to secure persons from the attack of those dangerous fevers; when the most sober and moderate men, who are the most averse from every kind of excess, and the most careful of all their actions, are victims to the new air they breathe. In the present  
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state of the colonies, of ten men that go into the islands, four English die, three French, three Dutch, three Danes, and one Spaniard.

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WHEN it was observed how many men were lost in these regions, at the time they were first occupied, it was generally thought, that the states who had the ambition of settling there would be depopulated in the end.

EXPERIENCE hath altered the public opinion upon this point. In proportion as these colonies have extended their plantations, they have had fresh means of expence. These have opened to their mother-country new sources of consumption. The increase in exportations could not take place without an increase of labour. These labours have brought together a greater number of men, which will ever be the case when the means of subsistence are multiplied. Even foreigners have resorted in great multitudes to those kingdoms, which opened a vast field to their ambition and industry.

Advantages  
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can islands,

POPULATION hath not only increased among the proprietors of the islands, but the people have also become more happy. Our felicity in general is proportioned to our conveniences, and it must increase as we can vary and extend them. The islands have been productive of this advantage to their possessors. They have draw'n from these fertile regions a number of commodities, the consumption of which hath added to their enjoyments. They have acquired some, which, when exchanged for others among their neighbours, have made them partake of the luxuries

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of other climates. In this manner, the kingdoms which have acquired the possession of the islands, by fortunate circumstances, or by well-combined projects, are become the residence of the arts, and of all the polite amusements which are a natural and necessary consequence of great plenty.

BUT this is not the only advantage: these colonies have raised the nations that founded them, to a superiority of influence in the political world, by the following means: Gold and silver, which form the general circulation of Europe, come from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. They belong neither to the Spaniards nor the Portuguese, but to people, who give their merchandise in exchange for these metals. These people have commercial transactions with each other, that are ultimately settled at Lisbon and Cadiz, which may be looked upon as a common and universal repository. It is in these places that one must judge of the increase or decline of the trade of each nation. That nation, whose accounts of sale and purchase are kept in balance with the rest, receives the whole interest of it's capital. That which hath purchased more than it hath sold, withdraws less than it's interest; because it hath ceded a part of it, in order to satisfy the demands of the nation to which it was indebted: That which hath sold more to other nations than it hath purchased of them, does not only get what was owing from Spain and Portugal, but also the profit it hath derived from other nations with which it hath made exchanges. This last advantage is peculiar to the people who possess

self the islands. Their specie is annually increased by the sale of the valuable productions of these countries; and the augmentation of their specie confirms their superiority, and renders them the arbiters of peace and war. But we shall explain, in the following Books, how far each nation hath increased it's power by the possession of the islands.

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## B O O K XII.

*Settlements of the Spaniards, the Dutch, and  
the Danes, in the American Islands.*

B O O K  
XII.

Definition  
of true  
glory.

I WAS going to say, that Spain had the glory of having discovered the great Archipelago of America, and of having formed the first settlements there, when I was checked by the consideration, that the discovery of it could not possibly have been glorious to the Spaniards, unless it had been advantageous to the Antilles.

GLORY is a sentiment which raises us in our own eyes, and which increases our consideration among enlightened men. The idea of it is inseparably connected with those of a great difficulty overcome, of great utility subsequent to success, and of equal increase of felicity for the universe or for one's country. Whatever mark of genius I may acknowledge in the invention of any destructive weapon, I should excite a just indignation, were I to say, that such a man, or such a nation, had the glory of having invented it. Glory, at least, according to the ideas I have formed of it, is not the reward of the greatest success in the sciences. If you invent a new calculation, compose a sublime poem, or if you have excelled Cicero or Demosthenes in eloquence, Thucydides or Tacitus in history, ce-

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lebrity may be granted to you, but not glory. Neither is it any more to be obtained by the superiority of talents in the arts. Let us suppose, that from the block of marble you have cut out either the Gladiator, or the Apollo Belvedere; that your pencil hath painted the transfiguration; or that your simple, expressive, and melodious airs have equalled you with Pergolesi; you will then enjoy a high reputation, but no glory. I will go further: If you should equal Vauban in the art of fortification, Turenne and Condé in that of commanding armies; if you should gain battles, and conquer provinces, all these actions are undoubtedly great, and your name will be transmitted to the remotest posterity, but glory is reserved for other qualities. We do not acquire glory by adding to that of our nation. A man may be the honour of his corps, without being the glory of his country. A private man may aspire to reputation, to fame, and to immortality; but there are none but rare circumstances, and a fortunate hazard, that can conduct him to glory.

GLORY belongs to God in heaven. Upon earth, it is the lot of Virtue, and not of genius; of useful, great, beneficent, splendid and heroic Virtue. It is the lot of the monarch, who, throughout the course of a tumultuous reign, hath attended to the happiness of his subjects, and hath attended to it with success. It is the lot of a subject, who shall have sacrificed his life for the preservation of his fellow-citizens. It is the lot of a people, who shall have chosen rather to die

free, than to live enslaved. It is the lot, not of a Cæsar or of a Pompey, but of a Regulus or of a Cato. It is the lot of a Henry IV.

It is owen to the spirit of humanity which philosophy hath infused into the minds of all enlightened people, that conquerors, as well antient as modern, are now put upon a level with the most abhorred class of mankind. And I doubt not but that posterity, which will judge with impartiality of the discoveries we have made in the New World, will rank our navigators still below them. For, have they been guided by their regard for the human race, or by cupidity? And though an enterprize be in itself a good one, can it be laudable, if the motive of it be vicious?

Idea that  
must be  
formed of  
the Island  
of Trinidad.

THE island which the Spaniards first met with on their arrival in America, is called Trinidad. Columbus landed on it in 1498, when he discovered the Oronooko; but other objects interfering, both the island, and the coasts of the neighbouring continent, were at that time neglected.

It was not till 1535, that the court of Madrid took possession of the island of Trinidad, which is situated facing the mouth of the Oronooko, as it were to moderate the rapidity of this river. It is said to comprehend three hundred and eighteen square leagues. It hath never experienced any hurricane, and it's climate is wholesome. The rains are very abundant there from the middle of May to the end of October; and the dryness that prevails throughout the rest of the year is not attended with any inconvenience, because the country,

country, though destitute of navigable rivers, is very well watered. The earthquakes are more frequent than dangerous. In the interior part of the island there are four groups of mountains, which, together with some others formed by nature upon the shores of the ocean, occupy a third part of the territory. The rest is in general susceptible of the richest cultures.

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THE form of the island is square. To the North is a coast of twenty-two leagues in extent, too much elevated, and too much divided, ever to be of any use. The Eastern coast is only nineteen leagues in extent, but in all parts as convenient as one could wish it to be. The Southern coast hath five-and-twenty leagues, is a little exalted, and adapted for the successful cultivation of coffee and cacao. The land on the Western side is separated from the rest of the colony, to the South by the Soldiers Canal, and to the North by the Dragon's Mouth, and forms, by means of a recess, a harbour of twenty leagues in breadth, and thirty in depth. It offers, in all seasons, a secure asylum to the navigators, who, during the greatest part of the year, would find it difficult to anchor any where else, except at the place called the Galiote.

IN this part are the Spanish settlements. They consist only of the Port of Spain, upon which there are seventy-eight thatched huts; and of Saint Joseph, situated three leagues further up the country, where eighty-eight families, still more wretched than the former, are computed.

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THE cacao was formerly cultivated near these two villages. Its excellence made it be preferred even to that of Caraccas. In order to secure it, the merchants used to pay for it before hand. The trees that produced it perished all in 1727, and have not been replanted since. The monks attributed this disaster to the colonists having refused to pay the tithes. Those who were not blinded by interest or superstition, ascribed it to the north winds, which have too frequently occasioned the same kind of calamity in other parts. Since this period, Trinidad hath not been much more frequented than Cubagua.

Account of  
Cubagua,  
and of its  
pearls.

THIS little island, at the distance of four leagues only from the continent, was discovered, and neglected by Columbus, in 1498. The Spaniards, being afterwards informed that its shores contained great treasures, repaired to it in multitudes in 1509, and gave it the name of Pearl Island.

THE pearl is a hard shining body, more or less white, commonly of a round form, and which is found in some shells, but more frequently in that which is know'n by the name of mother-of-pearl. This rich production of nature is mostly attached to the inside of the shell; but it is most perfect when found in the animal itself, which lives in the shell.

THE antients were in an error with respect to the origin of the pearl, as well with regard to many other phænomena, which we have observed and understood better, and which we have explained more satisfactorily. Let us not despise them



them the more on this account; neither let us be more vain. Their mistakes sometimes display a degree of sagacity, and have not been entirely useless to us. They have been the first steps of science, which time, the efforts of human genius, and a number of fortunate and casual circumstances, were to improve. Attempts have been made to tear the veil that covers nature, before it was lifted up.

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THE Greeks and the Romans used to say, that the shell-fish raised itself every morning to the surface of the waters, and received the dew, which was changed into pearl. This agreeable idea hath shared the fate of numberless fables of the same kind, when the spirit of observation had made it know'n, that this shell-fish remained always at the bottom of the sea, or fixed to the rocks where it had been formed; and when sound philosophy had demonstrated, that it was impossible it should be otherwise.

It hath since been imagined, that pearls must be the eggs, or the sperm of the fish inclosed in the shell. But this idea hath likewise fallen into discredit, when it hath been fully know'n, that the pearls were found in all parts of the animal; and when, after the most accurate investigations, anatomy hath not been able to discover the organs calculated for generation in this fish, which seems to add one to the class of hermaphroditical animals.

At length, after a variety of systems lightly adopted, and successively abandoned, it hath been imagined that pearls were produced from a disease

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case in the animal; and that they were formed by a liquor extravasated from some vessels, and detained between the membranes, or spread along the interior surface of the shell. This conjecture hath been still more confirmed to accurate observers, in proportion as it hath been ascertained, that these treasures were not to be found indiscriminately in all the fish; that those which had them were not so well tasted as the others; and that the coasts upon which this rich fishery was carried on were in general unwholesome.

BLACK pearls, such as are inclining to black, or such as are of a lead colour, are universally despised. In Arabia, and in some other parts of the East, the yellow pearls are esteemed. But the white ones are preferred in Europe, and throughout the greatest part of the globe. It is regretted only that they begin to grow yellow after half a century.

ALTHOUGH pearls had been discovered in the seas of the East Indies, and in those of America, yet their price was sufficiently kept up to induce people to counterfeit them. The imitation was at first coarse. It was glass covered with mercury. Attempts have been repeated, and in process of time, nature hath been so well copied, that it was easy to be misled. The artificial pearls, which are made at present with wax and ichthyocol, have much the advantage of the others. They are cheap; and are made of every size and shape, to suit the women who use them for ornament.

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THIS discovery was unknow'n when the Spaniards settled at Cubagua. They arrived there with some savages of the Lucaya Islands, who had not been found proper for the labours of the mines, but who had the faculty of remaining a long time under water with great ease. This talent procured to their oppressors a great quantity of pearls. These pearls were not spoiled, as those had been which had been hitherto collected by the Americans, who were only acquainted with the mode of fire for opening the shell that contained them. They were preserved in all their beauty, and found an advantageous mart. But this success was momentary. The pearl bank was soon exhausted; and the colony was transferred, in 1524, to Margarettæ, where the regretted riches were found, and from whence they disappeared almost as soon.

YET this last settlement, which is fifteen leagues in length and five in breadth, was not abandoned. It is almost continually covered with thick fogs, although nature hath not bestowed upon it any current waters. There is no village in it except Mon Padré, which is defended by a small fort. It's soil would be fruitful if it were cultivated.

It was almost generally supposed, that the court of Madrid, in preserving Margarettæ and Trinidad, meant rather to keep off rival nations from this continent, than to derive any advantage from them. At present we are induced to think otherwise. Convinced that the Archipelago of America was full of inhabitants loaded with debts,

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or who possessed but a small quantity of indifferent land, the council of Charles III. hath offered great concessions, in these two islands, to those who should embrace their faith. The freedom of commerce with all the Spanish traders was insured to them. They were only obliged to deliver their cacao to the company of Caraccas, but at twenty-seven sols \* per pound, and under the condition that this company should advance them some capital. These overtures have only met with a favourable reception at Granada, from whence some Frenchmen have made their escape with a few slaves, either to screen themselves from the pursuits of their creditors, or from aversion to the sway of the English. In every other part, they have had no effect, whether from aversion for an oppressive government, or whether it be that the expectations of all are at present turned towards the North of the New World.

TRINIDAD and Margaretta are at present inhabited only by a few Spaniards, who, with some Indian women, have formed a race of men, who, uniting the indolence of the savage to the vices of civilized nations, are sluggards, cheats, and zealots. They live upon maize, upon what fish they catch, and upon bananas, which nature, out of indulgence as it were to their slothfulness, produces there of a larger size, and better quality, than in any other part of the Archipelago. They have a breed of lean and tasteless cattle, with which they carry on a fraudulent traffic to the

\* About 1s. 1½d.



French colonies, exchanging them for camblets, black veils, linens, silk stockings, white hats, and hard-ware. The number of their vessels does not exceed thirty sloops, without decks.

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THE tame animals of these two islands have filled the woods with a breed of horned cattle which are become wild. The inhabitants shoot them, and cut their flesh into slips of three inches in breadth and one in thickness, which they dry, after having melted the fat out of them, so that they will keep three or four months. This provision, which is called Tassajo, is sold in the French settlements for twenty livres \* a hundred weight.

ALL the money which the government sends to these two islands, falls into the hands of the commandants, the officers civil and military, and the monks. The remainder of the people, who do not amount to more than sixteen hundred, live in a state of the most deplorable poverty. In time of war they furnish about two hundred men, who, for the sake of plunder, offer themselves, without distinction, to any of the colonies that happen to be fitting out cruizers for sea. The inhabitants of Porto-Rico are of a different turn.

ALTHOUGH this island had been discovered and visited by Columbus in 1493, the Spaniards neglected it till 1509, when the thirst of gold brought them thither from St. Domingo, under the command of Ponce de Leon, to make a conquest, which afterwards cost them dear.

Conquest of  
Porto-Rico  
by the Spaniards.

\* 16s. 8d.

It

It is generally know'n, that the use of poisoned arms is of the highest antiquity. In most countries, it preceded the invention of steel. When darts headed with stones, bones of fish or other animals, proved insufficient to repel the attacks of wild beasts, men had recourse to poisonous juices, which, from being originally designed merely for the chace, were afterwards employed in the wars of conquering or savage people against their own species. Ambition and revenge set no limits to their outrages, till ages had been spent in drowning whole nations in rivers of blood. When it was discovered that this effusion of blood produced no advantage, and that, in proportion as the stream swelled in it's course, it depopulated countries, and left nothing but deserts without animation and without culture; they then came to an agreement to moderate, in some degree, the thirst of shedding it. They established what are called the laws of war; that is to say, injustice in injustice, or the interest of kings in the massacre of the people. They do not now cut the throats of all their victims at once; but reserve some few of the herd to propagate the breed. These laws of war, or of nations, required the abolition of certain abuses in the art of killing. Where fire-arms are to be had, poisoned weapons are forbidden; and, when cannon balls will answer the end, chewed bullets are not allowed. O! race, unworthy both of heaven or earth, destructive, tyrannical being, man, or devil rather, wilt thou never cease to torment this globe, where thou existest but for a moment! Will thy wars never  
end

end but with the annihilation of thy species! Go then; if thou would'st advance thy mischief, go and provide thyself with the poisons of the New World.

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Of all the regions, productive of venomous plants, none abounded so much in them as South-America, which owed this malignant fertility to a soil in general rank, as if it were purging itself from the slime of a deluge.

THE plants called Lianes, of which there were vast numbers in all damp and marshy places, furnished the poison, which was in universal request on the continent. The method of preparing it was by cutting them in pieces, then boiling them in water, till the liquor had acquired the consistence of a syrup. After this they dipped their arrows in it, which were immediately impregnated with the poisonous quality. During several ages, the savages in general used these arms in their wars with each other. At length many of those nations, from the deficiency of their numbers, found the necessity of renouncing so destructive a weapon, and reserved it for beasts, whether large or small, which they could not overtake or overcome. Any animal, whose skin has been raised with one of these poisoned arrows, dies a minute after, without any sign of convulsion or pain. This is not occasioned by the coagulation of the blood, which was a long time the general opinion; recent experiments have proved, that this poison, mixed with blood newly draw'n and warm, prevents it from coagulating, and even preserves it some time from putrefaction. It is probable,  
that

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that the effect of these juices is upon the nervous system. Some travellers have imputed the origin of the venereal disease among the inhabitants of the New World, to the habit of eating game killed with these poisoned arms. At present it is universally know'n, that the flesh of such animals may be eaten for a continuance without any ill effect.

In the American islands, the natives draw their poison from trees, more than from the Lianes; and of all the venomous sorts of trees, the most deadly is the mancheneel.

THIS tree is rather lofty, and usually grows by the water side. It hath the figure and leaves of the pear-tree. It's trunk, which is of a compact, heavy, veiny wood, fit for joiners work, is covered with a smooth and tender bark. It bears two species of flowers. Some are male, and disposed in catkins at the extremity of the branches. They have in each calix but one thread furnished with two antheræ. The female flowers are single. Their pistil becomes a straight fleshy fruit, of the form of a fig or a pear, and containing a very hard kernel, in which are five or six seeds in so many different cells. In all parts of the tree, and especially between the trunk and the bark, a milky juice is found, which is considered as a very subtle poison, and which renders the cultivation of this tree, and even the coming near to it, very dangerous. One cannot sleep with impunity under the shade of it, and the water which drops from it's leaves after a shower, raises blisters upon the skin, and excites a troublesome

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blesome itching. The juice of the mancheneel is received into shells, placed under various incisions that have been made in it's trunk. As soon as this juice is grow'n a little thick, the points of the arrows are steeped in it, which acquire from thence the property of conveying sudden death, be the wound ever so slight. This poison, as it appears from experience, preserves it's venomous quality above a hundred years. Of all the spots where this fatal tree is found, Porto-Rico is that in which it delights most, and where it is found in the greatest abundance. Why were not the first conquerors of America all shipwrecked on this island? It is the misfortune of both worlds that they became acquainted with it so late, and that they did not there meet with the death which their avarice merited.

THE mancheneel seems to have been fatal only to the Americans. The inhabitants of the island where it grows, used it to repel the Caribs, who made frequent descents on their coasts. The same arms they might have employed against the Europeans; and, as the Spaniards were ignorant at that time that salt, applied immediately, is an infallible cure, they would probably have fallen a sacrifice to the first effects of this poison. But they did not meet with the least resistance from the savage inhabitants of the island. These had been informed of what had occurred in the conquest of the neighbouring isles; and they regarded these strangers as a superior order of beings, to whose chains they voluntarily submitted themselves. It was not long, however, before they wished to

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shake off the intolerable yoke which had been imposed on them, and postponed the enterprize only till they could be assured whether their tyrants were immortal. A Cacique, named Broyoan, was intrusted with this commission.

CHANCE favoured his design, by bringing to him Salzedo, a young Spaniard, who was travelling. He received him with great respect, and at his departure sent some Indians to attend him on his way, and to serve him in the quality of guides. When they came to the bank of a river, which they were to pass, one of these savages took him on his shoulder to carry him over. As soon as they had got into the midst of it, he threw him into the water, and, with the assistance of his companions, kept him there till there was no appearance of life. They then dragged him to the bank; but, as they were still in doubt whether he was dead or living, they begged pardon a thousand times for the accident that had happened. This farce lasted three days; till at length being convinced, by the stench of the corpse, that it was possible for Spaniards to die, the Indians rose on all sides upon their oppressors, and massacred a hundred of them.

PONCE DE LEON immediately assembled all the Castilians who had escaped; and, without loss of time, fell upon the savages, who were terrified with this sudden attack. In proportion as the number of their enemies increased, their panic became more violent. They had even the folly to believe, that these Spaniards, which were just arrived from St. Domingo, were the same that had been

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killed, and were come to life again to fight them. Under this ridiculous persuasion, dreading to continue a war with men who revive after their death, they submitted once more to the yoke, and, being condemned to the mines, in a short time fell victims to the toils of slavery.

Porto-Rico hath thirty-six leagues in length, eighteen in breadth, and one hundred in circumference. We may venture to affirm, that it is one of the best, if not entirely the best, of the islands of the New World, in proportion to its extent. The air is wholesome, and tolerably temperate, and it is watered by the pure streams of a considerable number of small rivulets. Its mountains are covered with either useful or valuable trees; and its vallies have a degree of fertility seldom to be met with elsewhere. All the productions peculiar to America thrive upon this deep soil. A safe port, commodious harbours, and coasts of easy access, are added to these several advantages.

On this territory, deprived of its savage inhabitants by ferocious deeds, the memory of which three centuries have not been able to obliterate, was successively formed a population of forty-four thousand eight hundred and eighty-three men, either white or of a mixt race. Most of them were naked. Their habitations were nothing more than huts. Nature, with little or no assistance, supplied them with subsistence. The linens, and some other things of little value, which they clandestinely obtained from the neighbouring or from foreign islands, were paid for

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of Porto-  
Rico.

by the colony with tobacco, cattle, and with the money which was sent by government for the support of the civil, religious, and military establishment. They received from the mother-country, annually, only one small vessel, the cargo of which did not amount to more than ten thousand crowns\*, and which returned to Europe laden with hides.

SUCH was Porto Rico, when in 1765, the court of Madrid carried their attention to St. John, an excellent harbour, even for the royal navy, and which only wants a little more extent. The town which commands it, was surrounded with fortifications. The works were made particularly strong towards a narrow and marshy neck of land, the only place by which the town can be attacked on the land side. Two battalions, and one company of artillery, crossed the sea for its defence.

AT this period, a possession which had annually received from the treasury no more than 378,000 †, cost them 2,634,433 livres ‡, which sum was regularly brought from Mexico. This increase of specie stimulated the colonists to undertake some labours. At the same time, the island, which till then had been under the yoke of monopoly, was allowed to receive all Spanish navigators. These two circumstances united, imparted some degree of animation to a settlement, the languishing state of which astonished all nations. Its tithes, which before 1765, did

\* 1250l. † 15,750l. ‡ 109,768l., os. 10d.



not yield more than 81,000 livres \*, have increased to 230,418 livres †.

On the first of January 1778, the population of Porto-Rico amounted to fourscore thousand six hundred and sixty inhabitants, of which number only six thousand five hundred and thirty were slaves. The inhabitants reckoned seventy-seven thousand three hundred and eighty-four head of horned cattle, twenty-three thousand one hundred and ninety-five horses, fifteen hundred and fifteen mules, and forty-nine thousand fifty-eight head of small cattle.

THE plantations, the number of which were five thousand six hundred and eighty-one, produced two thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven quintals of sugar; eleven hundred and fourteen quintals of cotton; eleven thousand one hundred and sixty-three quintals of coffee; nineteen thousand five hundred and fifty-six quintals of rice; fifteen thousand two hundred and sixteen quintals of maize; seven thousand four hundred and fifty-eight quintals of tobacco; and nine thousand eight-hundred and sixty quintals of melasses.

THE cattle in the several pasture grounds, which were two hundred and thirty-four in number, produced annually eleven thousand three hundred and sixty-four oxen; four thousand three-hundred and thirty-four horses; nine hundred and fifty-two mules; thirty-one thousand two hundred and fifty-four head of small cattle.

\* 3,375 l.

† 9,680 l. 15 s.

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ALL this is very trifling; but great expectations are raised from an arrangement which hath lately been made. No one citizen of Porto-Rico was in reality master of his possessions. The commanders who had succeeded each other, had only granted the income of them. This inconceivable defect hath at length been remedied. The proprietors have been confirmed in their possessions, by a law of 14th of January 1778, upon condition of paying annually one real and a quarter, or sixteen sols six deniers\*, for every portion of ground of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and eight toises, which they employed in cultures; and three-quarters of a real, or ten sols one denier and a half†, for that part of the soil that is reserved for pasture ground. This easy tribute is to serve for the clothing of the militia, composed of one thousand nine hundred infantry, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. The remainder of the island is distributed on the same conditions to those who have little or no property. These last, who are distinguished by the name of *Agregés*, are seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-five in number.

THIS plan will not accomplish the revolution which is expected by the council of Spain; although, contrary to the precise determination of the laws, every colonist who chooses to establish sugar plantations, be allowed to call in the assistance of any foreigner who is able to teach him that kind of culture. These colonists ought to be autho-

\* 8½ d.

† Rather above 5 d.

rized to sell openly to the French, the Dutch, the English, and the Danes, the cattle which they have been hitherto obliged to dispose of in a clandestine manner only. BOOK  
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MAN suffers, only because he knows not how to put an end to his pain. If he should languish in misery, it is merely from being incapable of changing his situation. It would be a gross error to imagine, that in a state of nature we can see man in perpetual agitation, incessantly observing and making all kinds of experiments, as we see him in a civilized state. Experience hath proved, that it requires ages for him to emerge from his natural torpid state; and that when once his industry is subject to a certain invariable mode of proceeding, and from the small number of his wants, restrained within narrow and circumscribed limits, it will never be roused of itself. What method can then be contrived to shorten the duration of his indolence, of his stupidity, and of his misery? For this purpose, he must be made acquainted with active beings, and must be placed in constant intercourse with laborious people. He will soon open his eyes with astonishment; he will soon be conscious that he likewise hath had hands given to him, and will scarce conceive how it could have been possible, that the idea of making use of them should not have occurred to him sooner. The sight of the enjoyments that are obtained by labour, will inspire him with the desire of partaking of them, and he will work. Invention is peculiar to genius, and imitation is peculiar to man. It is by

imitation that all scarce things have become, and will hereafter become, common. This is the propensity which the court of Madrid ought to encourage, if not from motives of humanity, at least, from the prospect of the political advantages they might expect to reap from it.

MATTERS perhaps might, and indeed ought to be carried still further. Let Spain declare Porto-Rico a neutral island, and let this neutrality be acknowledged by all the powers that have any possessions in America. Let the lands, which are not yet cultivated, be granted to enterprising men of all nations, who shall have a capital sufficient to establish cultures. Let persons, lands, and productions, be exempted from all taxes for the space of fifty years, or more. Let the harbours be opened indiscriminately to all traders, free from customs, from restraints, and from formalities. Let no other troops be kept but those necessary for the police; and let these be foreign troops. Let a very plain code of laws be drawn up, suitable to a state of husbandmen, or of merchants. Let the citizens themselves be the magistrates, or the magistrates be chosen by them. Let property, that first and great basis of all political societies, be established upon unmoveable foundations. Before half a century shall be elapsed, Porto-Rico will most undoubtedly be one of the most flourishing colonies of the New World. It may then again become, without inconvenience, a truly national possession. It's abundant productions, which will have cost neither care, expence, anxiety, nor war to Spain, will increase



increase the mass of national riches, and the public revenue.

But if even this plan of administration were the inspiration of wisdom itself: if it were dictated by the most certain views of interest; if the success of it could be geometrically proved, yet it would never be carried into execution; and for this reason: It is because it hath not been suggested by a native of Spain, and that it supposes the concurrence of foreigners. No country can do any thing of itself; and yet, from a detestable, puerile, and ridiculous vanity, we wish to do every thing by ourselves; we are blind, and yet we will not receive light from others. In monarchical states, the way to exclude an able man from an important situation, is to anticipate, by popular choice, the appointment of the court; and this is a mode which hatred and jealousy seldom fail of employing. The same method would succeed as certainly between the respective courts. In order to prevent a minister from pursuing any wise measure, nothing more is necessary, than that another minister should assume, by divulging it, the credit of having first thought of it himself. Nothing is more scarce, than to find among ministers of the same court, one citizen, great, honest, and good enough, to pursue a project begun by his predecessor. Thus do abuses become perpetual in the nation. Thus is every thing begun, and nothing accomplished, from motives of a foolish kind of pride, the influence of which extends itself over all the branches of administration, which suspends the progress of civilization, and would have settled all nations in a state of barbarism,

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barbarism, had their chiefs been constantly, and at all times, equally affected by it.

It, however, the measures we have ventured to propose to the court of Madrid should appear to them liable to inconveniences, which may have escaped our notice, they might at least derive from themselves part of those advantages which we should be happy to see them obtain. The navigation to the Spanish Indies is forbidden to the Biscayans. As their ports are freed, both on the going out and coming in of the ships, from the duties which are imposed upon all the other ports, the government have been apprehensive that they might obtain too great a superiority over the subjects of the monarchy, who do not enjoy the same privileges. Let Porto-Rico be opened to these active men, where their competition cannot be prejudicial to rivals who have never attended to this trade, and the island will soon acquire some degree of importance. The same arrangement might be extended to St. Domingo.

What were the events that occasioned St. Domingo to degenerate from that state of splendour to which that island had been raised.

THIS island, famous for being the earliest settlement of the Spaniards in the New World, was at first in high estimation for the quantity of gold it supplied. This wealth diminished with the inhabitants of the country, whom they obliged to dig it out of the bowels of the earth; and the source of it was entirely dried up, when the neighbouring islands no longer supplied the loss of those wretched victims to the avarice of the conqueror. A vehement desire of opening again this source of wealth, inspired the thought of getting slaves from Africa;

but

but, besides that these were found unfit for the labours they were destined to, the multitude of mines, which then began to be wrought on the continent, made those of St. Domingo no longer of any importance. An idea now suggested itself, that their Negroes, which were healthy, strong, and patient, might be usefully employed in husbandry; and they adopted, through necessity, a wise resolution, which, had they known their own interest, they would have embraced by choice.

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The produce of their industry was at first extremely small, because the labourers were few. Charles V., who, like most sovereigns, preferred his favourites to his subjects, had granted an exclusive right of the slave trade to a Flemish nobleman, who made over his privilege to the Genoese. Those avaricious republicans conducted this infamous commerce as all monopolies are conducted; they resolved to sell dear, and they sold but little. When time and competition had fixed the natural and necessary price of slaves, the number of them increased. It may easily be imagined, that the Spaniards, who had been accustomed to treat the Indians as beasts, though they differed but little in complexion from themselves, did not entertain a higher opinion of these Negro Africans, who were substituted to them. Degraded still further in their eyes by the price they had paid for them, even religion could not restrain them from aggravating the weight of their servitude. It became intolerable, and these wretched slaves made an effort to recover the unalienable rights of mankind. Their attempt proved unsuccessful;

successful; but they reaped this benefit from their despair, that they were afterwards treated with less inhumanity.

THIS moderation (if tyranny, cramped by the apprehension of revolt, can deserve that name) was attended with good consequences. Cultivation was pursued with some degree of success. Soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, the mother-country drew annually from this colony ten millions weight of sugar, a large quantity of wood for dying, tobacco, cocoa, cassia, ginger, cotton, and peltry in abundance. One might imagine, that such favourable beginnings would give both the desire and the means of extending this trade; but a train of events, each more fatal than the other, ruined these hopes.

THE first misfortune arose from the depopulation of St. Domingo. The Spanish conquests on the continent should naturally have contributed to promote the success of an island, which nature seemed to have formed to be the center of that vast dominion arising round it, to be the staple of the different colonies: but it happened quite otherwise. On a view of the immense fortunes raising in Mexico, and other parts, the richest inhabitants of St. Domingo began to despise their settlements, and quitted the true source of riches, which is, in a manner, on the surface of the earth, to go and ransack the bowels of it for veins of gold, which are soon exhausted. The government endeavoured in vain to put a stop to this emigration; the laws were always either artfully eluded, or openly violated.

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THE weakness, which was a necessary consequence of such a conduct, leaving the coasts without defence, encouraged the enemies of Spain to ravage them. Even the capital of this island was taken and pillaged by that celebrated English sailor, Francis Drake. The cruizers of less consequence, contented themselves with intercepting vessels in their passage through those latitudes, the best know'n at that time of any in the New World. To complete these misfortunes, the Castilians themselves commenced pirates. They attacked no ships but those of their own nation, which were more rich, worse provided, and worse defended, than any others. The custom they had of fitting out ships clandestinely, in order to procure slaves, prevented them from being know'n; and the assistance they purchased from the ships of war, commissioned to protect the trade, insured to them impunity.

THE foreign trade of the colony was it's only resource in this distress; and that was prohibited; but as it was still carried on, notwithstanding the vigilance of the governors, or perhaps, by their connivance, the policy of an exasperated and unenlightened court exerted itself in demolishing most of the sea-ports, and driving the miserable inhabitants into the inland country. This act of violence threw them into a state of dejection, which the incursions and settlement of the French on the island afterwards carried to the utmost pitch.

SPAIN, totally taken up with that vast empire which she had formed on the continent, used no pains

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Present state  
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pains to dissipate this lethargy. She even refused to listen to the solicitations of her Flemish subjects, who earnestly pressed that they might have permission to clear those fertile lands. Rather than run the risque of seeing them carry on a contraband trade on the coasts, she chose to bury in oblivion a settlement which had been of consequence, and was likely to become so again.

THIS colony, which had no longer any intercourse with the mother-country, but by a single ship of no great burden, received from thence every third year, consisted in 1717 of eighteen thousand four hundred and ten inhabitants, including Spaniards, Mestees, Negroes, or Mulattoes. The complexion and character of these people differed according to the different proportions of American, European, and African blood they had received from that natural and transient union which restores all races and conditions to the same level; for love is not more a respecter of persons than death. These demi-savages, plunged in the extreme of sloth, lived upon fruits and roots, dwelt in cottages without furniture, and had most of them no clothes. The few among them, in whom indolence had not totally suppressed the sense of decency and taste for the conveniences of life, purchased clothes of their neighbours the French, in return for their cattle, and the money sent to them for the maintenance of two hundred soldiers, the priests, and the government. The company, formed at Barcelona in 1757, with exclusive privileges for the re-establishment of St. Domingo, hath had no success.

success. Since that island hath been opened, in 1766, to all Spanish navigators, it hath still remained in the same state. The quantity of sugar canes, of coffee trees, and of tobacco, which may have been planted there, is not sufficient for it's own consumption, far from being able to contribute to that of the mother-country. The colony furnishes annually to the national trade, no more than five or six thousand hides, and some provisions, of so little value, that they scarce deserve to be reckoned.

THIS deficiency of cultivation is universally felt in the island. Sant Yago, La Vega, Seibo, and other places in the inland parts, formerly so renowned for their riches, are no longer any thing more than obscure hamlets, where nothing revives the memory of their antient splendour.

THE coasts do not exhibit a more animated appearance. To the south of the colony is the narrow and deep bay of Ocoa, which might be called a harbour. It is in this place where the Spaniards have no settlements, although they are near a salt-pit, which is sufficient for their necessities, that the silver which is sent from Mexico for the expences of government is deposited, and from whence it is conveyed upon horses to St. Domingo, which is at no more than fifteen leagues distance.

THIS famous capital of the island received for a long time it's necessities directly from foreigners; but at that period the Lozama, with which it's walls are watered, was able to admit vessels of six hundred tons burthen. Since the mouth

of this river hath been almost choaked by the sands, and by the stones it brings away from the mountains, the town is not in a better condition than the harbour; and magnificent ruins are the only remains of it. The country that surrounds it exhibits nothing but briars, and a small number of cattle.

THE river Macoussis runs fourteen leagues above that place, where the few American vessels that come to trade in the island are used to land. They disembark their small cargoes by means of a few little islands, which afford a tolerable shelter.

FURTHER on, but still on the same coast, the Rumana runs through the most beautiful plains that can possibly be conceived. Nevertheless, there is nothing to be found upon this extensive and fertile soil, except one hamlet, which would have a miserable appearance, even in those countries that are the most ill-treated by nature.

THE North of the colony is no better than the South. Porto de Plata, the beauty and excellence of which it would be difficult to exaggerate, presents only a few huts, in it's numerous creeks, and on it's rich territory.

THE Isabellica which hath a beautiful river, immense plains, and forests filled with precious woods, doth not exhibit a more flourishing appearance.

WITH as many, or even with more means of prosperity, Monte-Christo is nothing more than a staple, where English smugglers come habitually to take in the commodities of some French plantations, settled



settled in the neighbourhood. The hostilities between the courts of London and Versailles, render the fraudulent connections infinitely more considerable; and this mart acquires at that time a great degree of importance. But this incipient animation ceases, as soon as the ministry of Madrid think it suitable to their interests, to take a part in the disputes between the two rival nations.

THE Spaniards have no settlement in the western part of the island, which is entirely occupied by the French; and it is only since the last war that they have thought of settling to the eastward, which they had long entirely neglected.

THE project of cultivation might be carried into execution in the plain of Vega-Real, which is situated in the inland part, and is fourscore leagues in length, by ten in it's greatest breadth. It would be difficult to find, throughout the New World, a spot more level, more fruitful, or better watered. All the productions of America would succeed admirably there; but it would be impossible to remove them from thence without making roads; which is an undertaking that would alarm a people more enterprising than the Spaniards. These difficulties should naturally have led them to fix their attention on some exceeding good coasts, already a little inhabited, and where some subsistence would have been found. Probably it was apprehended that the new colonists would adopt the manners of the old, and therefore Samana was determined upon.

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SAMANA is a peninsula, five leagues broad, and sixteen long; the soil of which, though rather uneven, is very fit for the richest productions of the New World. It hath, moreover, the advantage of affording to the ships that come from Europe, an easy landing and a safe anchorage.

THESE considerations induced the first adventurers from France, who ravaged St. Domingo, to settle at Samana; where they maintained their ground a long time, though surrounded by their enemies. At length, it was found that they were too much exposed, and at too great a distance from the rest of the French settlements on the island, which were every day improving. In consequence of this they were recalled. The Spaniards rejoiced at their departure; but did not take possession of the spot they had quitted.

WITHIN these few years, however, the court of Madrid have sent thither some people from the Canaries; the state have been at the expence of the voyage, of their establishment, and of their maintenance for several years. These measures, prudent as they were, have not been attended with success. The new inhabitants have for the most part fallen victims to the climate, to the clearing of the ground, undertaken without precautions, and, above all, to the dishonesty of the governors, who have appropriated to themselves the funds they were intrusted with. The few that have survived so many evils, languish under the expectation of approaching death. Let us see whether the efforts made to render Cuba flourishing, have been more fortunate.

THE

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Conquest of  
the island of  
Cuba by the  
Spaniards.

THE island of Cuba, which is separated from St. Domingo by a narrow channel, is of itself equal in value to a kingdom: it is two hundred and thirty leagues in length, and in breadth from fourteen to twenty-four. None of its rivers are navigable: in three or four of them only, the boats can go up to the height of two, four, or six leagues, during the greatest part of the year. To the north, the Havannah, Bahiabonda, Maiul and Matanza, can receive men of war; but the southern harbours, as Cuba, Xaguas, Port au Prince, Bayamo, Bacacon, Nipe, Batabano, and Trinidad, admit only merchantmen.

THOUGH Cuba was discovered by Columbus, in 1492, the Spaniards did not attempt to make themselves masters of it till 1511, when Diego de Velasquez came with four ships, and landed on the eastern point.

THIS district was under the government of a Cacique named Hatuey. He was a native of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, and had retired hither to avoid the slavery to which his countrymen were condemned. Those, who could escape the tyranny of the Castilians, had followed him in his retreat, where he formed a little state, and ruled in peace. At a distance he observed the Spanish sails, the approach of which he dreaded. On the first news he received of their arrival, he called together the bravest Indians, both of his subjects and allies, to animate them to a defence of their liberty; assuring them, at the same time, that all their efforts would be ineffectual, if they did not first render the God of their enemies propitious to them:

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them: *Behold him there*, said he, pointing to a vessel filled with gold, *behold that mighty divinity, let us invoke his aid!*

THIS simple and credulous people easily believed that gold, for the sake of which so much blood was shed, was the God of the Spaniards. They danced and sang before the rude and unfashioned ore, and resigned themselves wholly to it's protection.

BUT Hatuey, more enlightened, and more suspicious than the other Caciques, assembled them again. *We must not*, said he to them, *expect any happiness so long as the God of the Spaniards remains among us. He is no less our enemy than they. They seek for him in every place; and where they find him, there they establish themselves. Were he hidden in the cavities of the earth, they would discover him. Were we to swallow him, they would plunge their hands into our bowels, and drag him out. There is no place but the bottom of the sea, that can elude their search. When he is no longer among us, doubtless we shall be forgotten by them.* As soon as he had done speaking, every man brought out his gold, and threw it into the sea.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the Spaniards advanced. Their muskets and cannons, those tremendous deities, dispersed with their thunder the savages, who endeavoured to resist: but, as Hatuey might reassemble them, he was pursued through the woods, taken, and condemned to be burned. When he was fastened to the stake, and waited only for the kindling of the fire, an inhuman priest advanced to propose the ceremony of baptism,

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and to speak to him of paradise. *Are there, said the Cacique, any Spaniards in that happy place? Yes, replied the missionary; but there are none but good ones. The best of them, returned Hatuey, are good for nothing. I will not go to a place, where I should be in danger of meeting one of them. Talk no more to me of your religion, but leave me to die.*

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Thus was the Cacique burned, the God of the Christians dishonoured, and his cross imbrued with human blood; but Velasquez found no more enemies to oppose him. No resistance was made, and yet the nation did not long survive the loss of its liberty. In those ferocious times, when to conquer was nothing but to destroy, several inhabitants of Cuba were massacred; a greater number of them ended their lives in the gold mines, although they were not found abundant enough to be worked for any length of time. At last the small-pox, that poison which hath been transmitted from the Old to the New World, in exchange for a still more fatal poison, completed what had been so much forwarded by the other calamities. The whole island was soon reduced to a desert.

It was indebted for its revival to the pilot Alaminos, who in 1519 first passed the canal of Bahama, when he was carrying the first intelligence of the success of Cortez to the Emperor Charles V. It was soon understood, that this would be the only convenient road for the ships that should sail from Mexico to Europe, and the Havannah was built to receive them. The utility of this celebrated port was afterwards extend-

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ed to the vessels dispatched from Porto-Bello and from Carthagena. They all put in there, and waited reciprocally for each other, in order to arrive together in the mother-country with a greater degree of parade and of security. The prodigious expences which navigators, laden with the richest treasures of the world incurred during their stay, occasioned an immense circulation of money in the town, which was itself compelled to send a part of it into the countries more or less distant, from whence it derived its subsistence. Cuba thus acquired some degree of animation, while the other islands, under the same dominion, still continued in that state of annihilation into which they had been plunged by the conquest.

IN order to accelerate the slow progress of this settlement a particular association was formed in 1735. The funds of the new company consisted of one million of piasters, or of 5,400,000 livres\*. They were divided into two thousand shares, one hundred of which belonged to the crown. The privilege of this company was exclusive. They established a factory at Cadix; but Cuba itself was the seat of the monopoly.

THE directors, at a distance from the mother-country, attended only to the making of their own fortunes, they committed numberless malversations; and the company, whose interests they managed, were so completely ruined in the space of twenty years, that it was no longer possible for

\* 225,000 l.

them to continue their transactions. The government then authorized a few merchants to carry on this trade, and in 1765, all the Spaniards were freely admitted into a possession, which ought never to have been shut against them.

A GOVERNOR, who bears the title of captain general, presides at present over the colony. He determines all matters relative to the civil and the military branches; but the finances are under the direction of an intendant. Magistrates, whose judgments may be set aside by the audience of St. Domingo, distribute justice in the eighteen jurisdictions which divide the island.

THE bishop's see, and his chapter, are in the town of Cuba. Neither they, nor any other members of the clergy receive the tithes; they belong, as in the rest of the New World, to the crown; but in this, as well as in other places, without being a resource for the treasury. There are twenty-three convents of men, and three nunneries in the colony, the estates of which are valued, according to the most moderate calculation, at 14,589,590 livres\*. The funds which belong to the order of St. Jean de Dieu, and which are destined for public use, are not included in this calculation.

CHILDREN are either well or ill educated in most of these convents. There is, ever since 1728, an university at the Havannah, which hath a revenue of 37,800 livres†, and less than two hundred scholars.

\* 607,899 l. 11 s. 8 d.

† 1,575 l.

NINETEEN hospitals are distributed over the island; and there, as in all other parts, people are by no means unanimous with respect to the utility of these establishments, or to the best mode of regulating them. Alas! then, every thing that concerns government is still problematic, and the questions which more particularly affect the happiness of the human species, are, perhaps, those which have been the least satisfactorily solved.

THE countries of the globe, which pretend to civilization, are full of indolent men, who chuse rather to sue for alms in the streets, than to employ their strength in the manufactures. Our intention is not certainly to harden the hearts of men, but we will pronounce, without hesitation, that these wretches are so many robbers of the real poor; and that whoever grants them any assistance becomes their accomplice. The knowledge of their hypocrisy, of their vices, of their debaucheries, of their nocturnal saturnalia, lessens the commiseration that is due to real indigence. It is certainly a disagreeable task to deprive a citizen of his liberty, which is the only thing he possesses, and to add imprisonment to his misery. And yet the man who prefers the abject state of a beggar, to an asylum where he might earn clothes and subsistence by his labour, is a vicious person who ought to be carried there by force. There are many countries where, from mistaken motives of compassion, the professed beggars are suffered to remain at liberty. The  
administra-



administration of those countries displays, in this instance, more humanity than judgment.

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BUT beside the state of beggary, which is brought on by a spirit of idleness, there must necessarily be poor people without number in every place where there are multitudes of men, who have no protection against misery but in their labour. For all these unfortunate people, a day of sickness is a day of indigence. Every old man is poor. Every man who is disabled either by accident, or by natural deformity, old or young, is a poor man. Every labourer, every soldier, every sailor, who hath either got no employment, or is unable to serve, is a poor man. Poverty begets poverty; were it only from the impossibility that indigent persons should give any kind of education, or furnish any employment to their children. A great conflagration, an inundation, a hail storm, a long and rigorous winter, an epidemical disorder, a famine, a war, great and sudden reductions of rent, bankruptcies, bad, and even sometimes good operations of finance, the invention of a new machine: every cause, in a word, which deprives the citizen of his state, and which suspends, or suddenly diminishes the daily labours, occasions an incredible number of people to be reduced to poverty in an instant.

AND yet, who are these numerous unfortunate people, who are reduced to inevitable poverty without any fault of their own, and perhaps from the injustice of our constitutional laws? They are useful men who have cultivated the lands, cut the stones, constructed our edifices, nourish-

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ed our children, worked in our mines and in our quarries, defended our country, assisted the efforts of genius, and been serviceable in all the branches of industry.

IN order to succour these interesting beings, hospitals have been contrived. But do these establishments answer the end of their institution? Almost in all places they have a number of moral and natural defects, which render the utility of them doubtful in their present state.

PARTICULAR and temporary succours, prudently dispensed by government in a season of great popular calamities, would perhaps be better than hospitals which are perpetually maintained. They would prevent beggary, while hospitals encourage it. These asylums for misfortune, are almost all in possession of landed property. This kind of property is liable to too many embarrassments, and to dishonesty in the management of it, and subject to too many vicissitudes in its produce. The directors of it are permanent. Hence their zeal is diminished, and the spirit of fraud and rapine, or at least that of indifference is substituted to it. These sacred deposits become at last the revenue of those who manage them. The administration of these establishments, is almost always a mystery to the government and to the public, while nothing would be more honest and more necessary, than that it should be exposed to public view: it is also arbitrary, and it ought to be subjected to the most careful and rigorous examination. The depredations that are committed in the palaces of kings, are the subject of much

much discussion. There at least magnificence, abundance, and the etiquette, which composes the false greatness of the throne, are in some sort an apology for this dissipation; for where there are kings, it is well know'n, there must likewise be abuses. But hospitals are liable to still greater malversations, and yet they are the houses of the poor! they are the fortunes of the poor! every thing ought there to present the strictest ideas of economy and order; every circumstance ought to render these duties sacred. You, who are the directors of these asylums, if you be guilty of negligence, your hearts must be obdurate! But if you should allow yourselves to commit extortions, by what name can you be called? You are fit only to be trampled upon in the dust, and to be drenched in blood.

THE natural defects of our hospitals are still more deplorable than the moral vices of them. The air is corrupted by a thousand causes, the detail of which would be disgusting to all our senses. We may form a judgment of this from one incontestible experiment. Three thousand men, confined within the limits of one acre, must, by their perspiration alone, form an atmosphere of the height of sixty inches, which becomes contagious if the air be not perpetually renewed. All the people who are habitually employed in the service of the sick are pale, and mostly attacked, even in a state of health, with a peculiar kind of slow fever. How much greater must the same cause operate upon a sick person? People are discharged from the hospital cured of one disease,

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ease, and carry away another along with them. Patients are a long time recovering. How many fatal neglects, and unfortunate mistakes are committed! The frequency of them stifles remorse.

At the Hotel Dieu of Paris, and at Bicêtre, the fifth and the sixth part of the sick perish; at the hospital of Lyons, the eighth and the ninth part.

O THOU! who descending from the first throne of Europe, hast visited the principal countries of it with the thirst of knowledge, and undoubtedly with the desire of labouring for the good of thine own country; tell us, how great was thy horror when thou didst see in one of our hospitals, seven or eight sick persons heaped together in the same bed, all maladies blended together, all the principles and degrees of life and death confounded; one wretch crying out with acute pain, by the side of another who was breathing his last; the dying man lain by the side of the dead one, and all of them reciprocally infecting and cursing each other. Say, why didst thou not represent this picture to the imagination of thy young and compassionate sister, our sovereign? No doubt, she would have been affected with it; her compassion would have been communicated to her husband, and her tears would have interceded for these miserable wretches. How noble a use would this have been making of beauty!

THE preservation therefore of mankind, the watching over their days, and the removing from them the horrors of misery, is a science so little understood by government, that even the establishments



lishments they seem to have made with a view of fulfilling these objects, produce an opposite effect. Astonishing perversion of mind, which ought not to be forgotten by any one of our philosophers, who shall write the immense treatise on the barbarism of civilized nations.

SOME men, devoid of feeling, have asserted, that in order to diminish the number, already too great, of idle, negligent, and vicious people, it was necessary that the poor and the sick should not be well treated in the hospitals. And indeed it cannot be denied, but that this barbarous expedient hath been pursued to it's utmost extent; nevertheless, what are the effects produced by it? Several men have been destroyed, while no one hath been corrected.

LAZINESS and debauchery may possibly be encouraged in hospitals; but if this defect be inherent in these establishments, it must be borne with. If it can be corrected, we must endeavour to do it. Let hospitals subsist, but let us all exert ourselves by diffusing general competency, in diminishing the multitude of those unfortunate people who are compelled to seek an asylum in them. Let them be employed in charitable houses, in sedentary labours; let laziness be punished there, but let industry be rewarded.

WITH regard to the sick, let them be taken care of, as men ought to be by men. Their country owes them this relief from motives of justice or of interest. If they be old, they have served mankind, they have brought other citizens into the world; if they be young, they may serve mankind

mankind again, they may be the source of a new generation. In a word, when they are once admitted into those charitable asylums, let hospitality be exercised in it's full extent. Let there be no more mean avarice, no murderous calculations. They ought to find there all the comforts they would find in their own families, if their own families were capable of receiving them.

THIS plan is not impracticable, it will not even be expensive, when better laws, when a more vigilant, a more enlightened, and especially a more humane administration, shall preside over these establishments. The experiment hath been just made with success, under our own immediate inspection, by the care of Madame Necker. While this lady's husband is employing himself upon a larger scale, in diminishing the number of unfortunate people, she enters into the details which can alleviate the distresses of those who are already unfortunate. She hath just established in the suburb of St. Germain, an hospital, where sick people, who have each a bed to themselves, and are attended in the same manner as they would be at the house of the most affectionate mother, cost one-third less than in any of the hospitals at Paris. Foreigners, who are become members of the nation, by the most meritorious of all naturalisations, by the good you do to it; Generous pair, I venture to name you, although you are still alive, although you are surrounded with the influence of a high post; and I am not apprehensive of being accused of adulation. I think I have given sufficient proofs, that I can  
neither

neither fear nor flatter vice in power, and therefore I have acquired the right of rendering public homage to virtue.

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Would to heaven, that the happy experiment we have just mentioned, might bring on a general reformation in all the hospitals founded by the generosity of our ancestors! Would to heaven, that so fine an establishment might serve as a model for those, which a principle of soft compassion, the desire of expiating the possession of wealth, or a benevolent system of philosophy, may one day excite succeeding generations to found. This wish of my heart extends to the whole universe; for my thoughts have no other limits than those of the world, when they are employed about the happiness of my fellow-creatures. Citizens of the universe, unite yourselves with me; it is your interest that is in agitation.

What assurances have you, that none of your ancestors have died in an hospital? What assurances have you that none of your descendants will expire in that retreat provided for misery? Might not an unexpected misfortune oblige you to take refuge there yourselves? Let your vows therefore be joined to mine!

Let us now return to our subject. According to accounts taken in 1774, the island of Cuba reckons one hundred and seventy-one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight persons, of whom twenty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-six only are slaves. The population must even be rather more considerable, because the well-grounded

grounded apprehension of some new tax must have prevented accuracy in the declarations.

Few of the arts, except those of primary necessity, are found in the island. These are in the hands of the Mulattoes, or free Negroes, and are in a very imperfect state. Joiners work only hath been carried on to a remarkable degree of perfection.

OTHER Mulattoes and blacks are employed in cultivating articles of subsistence. These consist of some fruits of the New World, and some vegetables of the Old; of maize, and of manioc, the consumption of which hath diminished in proportion as the freedom of trade hath lowered the price of the flour brought from Spain or Mexico, and sometimes also from North America: they consist of tolerable good cacao, but in so small a quantity, that the inhabitants are obliged to draw annually from Caraccas, or from Guayaquil, more than two thousand quintals of it: they consist also of numerous herds of oxen, and especially of hogs, the flesh of which hath been hitherto generally preferred, and will always be so, unless the sheep, which have lately been brought in the island, should make them one day be neglected. All these animals wander about in the pasture grounds, each of which is four, or at least two leagues in extent. Some mules and horses are likewise seen to graze there, which ought to be still more multiplied, because their present number doth not prevent the inhabitants from purchasing a great quantity from the continent.

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THE articles destined for exportation employ <sup>B O O K</sup><sub>XII.</sub> most of the slaves. From 1748 to 1753, the labour of these unfortunate people did not produce annually to the mother-country, more than eighteen thousand seven hundred and fifty quintals of tobacco, the value of which in Europe was 1,293,570 livres \*; one hundred and seventy-three thousand eight hundred quintals of sugar, the value of which was 7,994,786 livres †; fifteen hundred and sixty-nine hides, the value of which was 138,817 livres ‡; and 1,064,505 livres § in gold and silver. Of this sum, amounting to 10,491,678 livres §, the tobacco alone was the property of government, all the rest belonged to trade.

SINCE that period the labours have much increased; they have not, however, been turned towards the culture of indigo and of cotton, although these grow naturally in the island.

THE culture of coffee, which hath been lately undertaken, hath not made any considerable progress, nor will it increase. Spain consumes but a small quantity of that production, and the European marts are and will be for a long time overstocked with it. There is more to be expected from the wax.

WHEN Florida was ceded in 1763, by the court of Madrid to that of London, the five or six hundred miserable people who lived in that

\* 53,898 l. 15 s.

† 333,116 l. 11 s. 8 d.

‡ 5,784 l. 0 s. 10 d.

§ 44,354 l. 7 s. 6 d.

§ 437,153 l. 5 s.

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island, took refuge at Cuba, and carried some bees along with them. These useful insects flew to the forests, fixed themselves in the hollow of old trees, and multiplied with a degree of celerity that seems incredible. The colony, which 'till then had bought a great deal of wax for their religious solemnities, was soon able to collect a sufficient quantity for this pious use, and for other consumptions. They had some overplus in 1770; and seven years afterwards they exported seven thousand one hundred and fifty quintals and a half of it, for Europe and for America. This production must necessarily increase, under a sky, and on a soil which are equally favourable to it; in an island where the hives yield four times in every year, and where the swarms succeed each other without interruption.

TOBACCO is one of the most important productions of Cuba. Each crop furnishes about fifty-five thousand quintals. Part of this is consumed in the country, or fraudulently carried out of it. The government purchase annually, for their dominions in the Old and in the New World, where they equally monopolize it, forty-six thousand seven hundred and fifty quintals, the price of which varies according to it's quality, but which cost, one with another, 48 livres 12 sols \* the hundred weight. So that the king pours annually into the island 2,272,050 livres † for this production.

THE progress made in the culture of tobacco hath been lately stopped at Cuba. This plant

\* 21. os. 6d.

† 94,6681. 15s.

hath

hath even been rooted up in some places where it did not thrive so well. The ministry did not chuse that the crops should exceed the demands of the monarchy. They were certainly apprehensive that foreigners, who might have purchased this production in the leaf, would introduce it clandestinely in their provinces, after having manufactured it. It has been thought that the industry of the planters would be more usefully employed in the culture of sugar.

THIS commodity was little know'n before the discovery of the New World. It is gradually become the object of an immense commerce. The Spaniards were obliged to purchase it of their neighbours, 'till at length they thought of planting it at Cuba. The mother-country receives annually from two hundred to two hundred and fifty quintals of it, half of it white, and half raw. It is not as much as it's inhabitants can consume; but they will not be obliged to have recourse to foreign markets, when this cultivation shall be as firmly established in the rest of the island, as it already is in the territory of the Havannah.

BEFORE 1765, Cuba did not receive annually more than three or four large ships from Cadiz; and those vessels, which, after having sold their cargoes upon the coasts of the continent, came there in order to take up a lading, which they had not been able to find at Vera Cruz, at Honduras, and at Carthagen. The island was at that time in want of the most necessary things, and the inhabitants were compelled to purchase

them of their neighbours, with whom they had formed some smuggling connections. Since the restraints have been diminished, the number of voyages hath multiplied the productions, which have also reciprocally extended the navigation.

IN 1774, one hundred and one vessels arrived from Spain in the colony: these were laden with flour, wines, brandies, and with every thing requisite for a large settlement; and they carried away from thence all the commodities which a better arrangement of things had produced.

THE same year Cuba received, upon one hundred and eighteen small vessels, from Louisiana, rice, and the proper wood for their sugar chests; from Mexico, flour, vegetables, Morocco leather, and copper; from the other parts of this large continent, oxen, mules, and cacao; and from Porto Rico two thousand slaves, which had been distributed among these ships.

THESE vessels of the Old and New World were not allowed to chuse the ports where it would have been most convenient for them to put in. They were obliged to land their cargoes at the Havannah, at Port-au-Prince, at Cuba, and at Trinidad, the only places where customs were established. None but fishing smacks and coasting vessels are allowed to frequent all the harbours indiscriminately.

A MAN, who at this time does honour to Spain, and who would do honour to any country whatever, Mr. Campo Manes, says, that the produce of the customs, which before 1765, had never exceeded



ceeded 565,963 livres \*, amounts at present to 1,620,000 livres †; and that the mother-country draws from the colony, in metals, 8,100,000 livres ‡, instead of 1,620,000 livres §, which it formerly received. This is an argument in favour of a free trade, of the force of which, it were to be wished, that mankind could be made sensible.

THE taxes levied at Cuba, or those at least which enter the coffers of the state, do not exceed 2,430,000 livres §, and government circulates in the island to the amount of 2,272,050 livres ¶ for tobacco; 1,350,000 livres \*\* for the maintenance of the fortifications, 2,160,000 livres †† for the usual garrisons, and 3,780,000 livres ‡‡ for the naval department.

CEDAR woods, proper for ship-building, were found all over the colony, though the idea had never occurred of making any use of them. At length docks were established, in 1724, which have sent out, from that period to the present time, fifty-eight vessels, or frigates. This establishment is kept up, notwithstanding the necessity there is of importing the iron and the ropes used for those vessels, articles which the island doth not furnish; and notwithstanding the custom which hath prevailed since 1750, of bringing from the North of Europe the masts, which were

\* 23,581 l. 15 s. 10 d.

† 337,500 l.

‡ 101,250 l.

\*\* 56,250 l.

†† 157,500 l.

‡ 67,500 l.

§ 67,500 l.

¶ 94,668 l. 15 s.

‡‡ 90,000 l.

formerly obtained, though of inferior quality, from the Gulph of Mexico.

THE small fleet destined to clear the coasts of Spain of smugglers or pirates, and which, in the intervals between the cruising seasons, used to remain at Vera Cruz, was suppressed in 1748. It was become useless, since the government had resolved to maintain constantly at Cuba some maritime forces, more or less considerable. In peace time these vessels carry to the islands of Cumana, and to Louisiana, the funds that are destined for the annual necessities of those several settlements; they prevent smuggling as much as they can; and they cause the name of their master to be respected. In time of war they protect the traders and the territories of their country.

THE Havannah, where these ships are constructed, hath just been supplied, by the care of the Marquis de la Torre, with some conveniences and embellishments which had been for a long time desired in vain. This active governor hath given the inhabitants a playhouse, decorated with propriety, two delightful walks, convenient barracks, and five very well contrived bridges. These useful or agreeable establishments have cost the town no more than 482,066 livres\*.

GOVERNMENT have allotted, for the fortifications with which the town hath been surrounded, from 1763 to 1777, 22,413,989 livres, 18 sols, 6 deniers†. These works have been constructed by four thousand one hundred and ninety-eight

In what consist the fortifications of Cuba. Other means of defence belonging to this island.

\* 20,086l. 1s. 8d.

† 933,916l. 4s. 11½d.

blacks,

blacks, by fifteen hundred malefactors sent from Spain and Mexico, and by the freemen, who have not disdained this kind of labour.

THE harbour of the Havannah is one of the safest in the universe; the fleets of the whole world might ride at anchor there together. At the entrance of it there are rocks, against which the vessels that should venture to deviate from the middle of the pass would infallibly be wrecked. It is defended by the Moro and the fort on the point. The former of these fortresses is raised so high above the level of the sea, that even a first rate man of war could not batter it. The other hath not the same advantage; but it can only be attacked by a very narrow channel, where the warmest assailants could never withstand the numerous and formidable artillery of the Moro.

THE Havannah, therefore, can only be attacked on the land side. Fifteen or sixteen thousand men, which are the most that could be employed in this service, would not be sufficient to invest the works, which cover a vast extent. Their efforts must be directed either to the right or left of the port, against the town or the Moro. If the latter, they may easily land within a league of the fort, and will come within sight of it, without difficulty, by easy roads, through woods which will cover and secure their march.

THE first difficulty will be that of getting water, which, in the neighbourhood of the camp, the assailants must chuse, is mortal. To obtain such as is drinkable, they must go in boats to the distance of three leagues, and it will be necessary to send

a considerable force for this purpose to the only river where it is to be had, or to leave a detachment there in intrenchments; which being at a distance from the camp, without communication or support, will be in perpetual danger of being cut off.

PREVIOUS to the attack of the Moro, the enemy must make themselves masters of the Cavagna, which hath been lately built. It is a crown-work, composed of a bastion, two curtains, and two demi-bastions in front. It's right and left lie upon the bank of the harbour. It hath casemates, reservoirs of water, and powder magazines that are bomb-proof, a good covered way, and a wide ditch cut in the rock. The way which leads to it is composed of stones and pebbles, without any mixture of earth. The Cavagna is placed on an eminence which commands the Moro, but is itself exposed to attacks from a hill which is of an equal height, and not more than three hundred paces distant from it. As it would have been easy for an enemy to open their trenches under the cover of this hill, the Spaniards have levelled it, and the Cavagna can now extend it's view and it's batteries to a great distance. If the garrison should find themselves so prest, as not to be able to maintain this post, they would blow up the works, which are all undermined, and retreat into the Moro, the communication with which cannot possibly be cut off.

THE famous fortress of the Moro had towards the sea, on which side it is impregnable, two bastions; and on the land side two others, with a wide



wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. Since it was taken, it hath been entirely rebuilt, and it's parapets made higher and thicker. A good covered way hath been added, and every thing that was wanting to secure the garrison and the stores. It is not easier to open trenches before this place than the Cavagna. Both of them are built with a soft stone, which will be less dangerous to the defenders than the common sort of free-stone.

INDEPENDENT of these advantages, the two fortresses have in their favour a climate extremely hazardous to besiegers, and an easy communication with the town for receiving all sorts of provisions, without a possibility of being intercepted. Thus circumstanced, these two places may be considered as impregnable, at least as very difficult to be taken, provided they be properly stocked with provisions, and defended with courage and ability. The preservation of them is of so much greater importance, as their loss would necessarily occasion the surrender of the harbour and town, which are both of them commanded, and may be battered from these eminences.

AFTER having explained the difficulties of taking the Havannah by attacking the Moro, we must next speak of those which must be encountered on the side of the town.

It is situated near the bottom of the harbour. It was defended, as well towards the harbour as towards the country, by a dry wall, which was good for nothing, and twenty-one bastions, which were not much better. It had a dry ditch, and of little depth.

depth. Before this ditch was a kind of covered way, almost in ruins. The place, in this state, could not have resisted a sudden attempt, which had it been made in the night, and supported by several attacks, true or false, would certainly have carried it. Wide and deep ditches have been made, and an exceeding good covered way added.

These defences are supported by the fort at the point; which is a square, built of stone, and, though small, is provided with casemates. It hath been rebuilt, having been very much damaged during the siege. There is a good dry ditch round it, digged out of the rock. Independent of it's principal destination, which is to co-operate with the Moro in defending the port, and for which it is perfectly well calculated; it hath several batteries which open upon the country, and flank some parts of the town wall.

It's fire crosses that of a fort of four bastions, which hath a ditch, covered way, powder magazine, casemates, and reservoirs of water. This new fortification, which is erected at three quarters of a mile from the place, on an eminence called Arosteguy, will require a siege in form, if the town is to be attacked on that side, particularly as it is so constructed as to have a view of the sea, to command a considerable tract on the land side, and to disturb an enemy exceedingly in getting water, which they must fetch from it's neighbourhood.

In skirting the city onward, we come to the fort of Atarès, which has been constructed since the siege.

siege. It is of stone, hath four bastions, a covered way, a half-moon before the gate, a wide ditch, a good rampart, reservoirs, casemates, and a powder magazine. It is barely three quarters of a league distant from the town, and is situated on the other side of a river and an impracticable morass, which cover it in that direction. The rising ground upon which it is built, is entirely occupied by it, and has been insulated by the digging of a broad ditch, into which the sea hath a passage from the bottom of the harbour. Besides it's commanding the communication between the town and the interior part of the island, it defends the circuit of the place by crossing it's fires with those of Arosteguy. The Spaniards have constructed a large redoubt in the interval of these two forts, which is an additional protection to the town. The Atarès also crosses it's fire with that of the Moro, which is very high, and situated at the extreme point of the fort.

If it were allowable to form an opinion upon a subject, which we do not professionally understand, we might venture to assert, that those who would undertake the siege of the Havannah, should begin by the Cavagna and the Moro; because, these forts once taken, the town must of course surrender, or be destroyed by the artillery of the Moro. On the contrary, if they should determine for the town side, the besiegers would scarcely find themselves in a better condition, even after they had taken it. Indeed, they would have it in their power to destroy the dock-yards, and the ships that might happen to be in the harbour; but

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but this would produce no permanent advantage. In order to establish themselves, they must still be obliged to take the Cavagna and the Moro, which in all probability they would find impossible, after the loss they must have sustained in the attack of the town and its fortresses.

BUT whatever plan may be pursued in the siege of this place, the assailants will not only have to combat the numerous garrison inclosed within its works; there will be a corps likewise of twelve thousand four hundred and seventy-two militia, who have been accustomed to manœuvre in a surprising manner, who would take the field, and continually interrupt their operations. These troops armed, clothed, and accoutred at the expence of the government, and paid in time of war upon the footing of regulars, are trained and commanded by non-commissioned officers sent from Europe, and chosen from the most distinguished regiments. The forming of this militia hath cost an immense sum. The court of Spain is in expectation of future events, to form a judgment of the utility of these expences. But whatever may be the military spirit of these troops, we may pronounce beforehand, that this establishment, in a political view, is inexcusable; and for the following reasons:

THE project of making soldiers of all the colonists of Cuba, a most unjust and destructive project to all colonies, has been pursued with uncommon ardour. The violence they have been forced to use with the inhabitants, to make them submit to exercises which they were averse from, has produced



produced no other effects than that of increasing their natural love of repose. They detest those mechanical and forced movements, which, not contributing in any respect to their happiness, appear doubly insupportable; not to mention their seeming frightful or ridiculous to a people, who probably think they have no interest in defending a government by which they are oppressed. The rage of keeping up an army; that madness, which, under pretence of preventing wars, encourages them; which, by introducing despotism into governments, paves the way for rebellion among the people; which continually dragging the inhabitant from his dwelling, and the husbandman from his field, extinguishes in them the love of their country, by driving them from their home; which subverts nations, and carries them over land and sea: that mercenary profession of war, so different from the truly military spirit, sooner or later will be the ruin of Europe; but much sooner of the colonies, and, perhaps, first of all, of those which belong to Spain.

THE most extensive and most fertile part of the American Archipelago is possessed by the Spaniards. These islands, in the hands of an industrious nation, would have proved a source of unbounded wealth. In their present state, they are vast forests, exhibiting only a frightful solitude. Far from contributing to the strength and riches of the kingdom they belong to, they serve only to weaken and to exhaust it by the expences required to maintain them. If Spain had attended properly to the political improvements of other nations,

Hath Spain taken proper measures to render this island useful, and doth she still pursue them?

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tions, she would have discovered, that several of them owed their influence solely to the advantages they have drawn from islands, in every respect inferior to those which have hitherto only served the ignominious purpose of swelling the list of the numberless and useless possessions of the Spanish crown. She would have learned, that there is no other rational foundation of colonies, especially of those which have no mines, but agriculture.

It is not doing justice to the Spaniards to suppose, that they are naturally incapable of labour. If we give the least attention to the excessive fatigues which those of them who are concerned in contraband trade submit to with the utmost patience, we shall find that their toils are infinitely more grievous than any that attend the management of a plantation. If they neglect to enrich themselves by agriculture, it is the fault of their government. Alas! might the disinterested historian, who neither seeks nor desires any thing but the general good of mankind, be permitted to furnish them with those sentiments and expressions, which the habit of sloth, the rigour of government, and prejudices of every kind seem to have precluded them from the use of; thus would he in their name address the court of Madrid, and the whole Spanish nation:

“ REFLECT on the sacrifices we require from  
 “ you, and see, if you will not reap a centuple  
 “ advantage by the valuable commodities we  
 “ shall supply to your now expiring commerce.  
 “ Your navy, increased by our labours, will form  
 “ the

“ the only bulwark that can preserve to you those  
“ possessions, which are now ready to escape from  
“ your hands. As we become more rich, our  
“ consumption will be greater; and then the  
“ country, which you inhabit, and which droops  
“ with you, though Nature herself invites it to  
“ fertility; those plains, which present to your  
“ eyes only a desert space, and are a disgrace to  
“ your laws and to your manners, will be con-  
“ verted into fields of plenty. Your native land  
“ will flourish by industry and agriculture, which  
“ have now forsaken you. The springs of life  
“ and activity, which ye will have conveyed to  
“ us through the channel of the sea, will flow  
“ back, and encompass your dwellings with  
“ rivers of plenty. But if ye prove insensi-  
“ ble to our complaints and misfortunes: if ye do  
“ not govern us for our sakes: if we be only the  
“ victims of our loyalty; recall to your minds that  
“ ever celebrated æra, in which a nation of un-  
“ fortunate and discontented subjects shook off  
“ the yoke of your dominion; and by their la-  
“ bours, their success, and their opulence, justi-  
“ fied their revolt in the eyes of the whole world.  
“ They have been free for near two centuries; and  
“ shall we still have to lament, that we are go-  
“ verned by you? When Holland broke in  
“ pieces the rod of iron, which crushed her;  
“ when she rose from the depth of the waters to  
“ rule over the sea; heaven, without doubt, rais-  
“ ed her up as a monument of freedom, to point  
“ out to the nations of the world the path of hap-  
“ piness,

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“ pines; and to intimidate faithless kings who  
“ would exclude them from it.”

It might be suspected that the court of Madrid have discovered, that it would be possible to pass this censure upon them. In 1735, their ministry suggested a company for Cuba. Twenty years after they conceived the idea of a new monopoly for St. Domingo and for Porto-Rico. The society which was to clear these deserts, was established at Barcelona, with a capital of 1,785,000 livres\*, divided into shares, of the value of a hundred pistoles each †. This company never paid any interest to it's members; they made no dividend; they obtained the important permission of fitting out several vessels for the Honduras. Notwithstanding this, on the 30th of April 1771, their debts, including their capital, amounted to 3,121,692 livres ‡; and they had no more than 3,775,540 livres §. So that in the course of fifteen years, with an exclusive privilege, and with very signal favour, they had gained no more than 653,848 livres ||. Their affairs have since been in great disorder, and at present they have no degree of activity. They are endeavouring to liquidate their debts, but they cannot dispose of their shares even at fifty per cent. loss.

THE ministry had not waited for this reverse of fortune, to judge that they had mistaken the means they had adopted to render these islands flourishing. From 1765, the administrators of

\* 74,375 l.    † 83 l. 15 s.    ‡ 130,070 l. 10 s.  
§ 157,314 l. 3 s. 4 d.    || 27,243 l. 13 s. 4 d.

that



that large empire, were obliged to acknowledge that their possessions had not acquired the smallest degree of improvement under the yoke of monopoly. They understood that they would never improve under such fatal restraints. This conviction determined them to have recourse to the only principle of prosperity, a free trade; but they had not the courage or the wisdom to remove the obstacles which must necessarily have impeded the happy effects of it.

In the year 1778, these prohibitions, restraints, and impositions, which checked their labours, were partly abolished; but there still remain too many of those oppressive scourges, to give reason to expect much exertion. Were they even totally removed, this would still be only a preliminary step.

ALL the cultures of the New World require some advances; but considerable capitals are wanted to make that of sugar successful. Excepting at Cuba, there are not perhaps in the other islands five or six inhabitants wealthy enough to cultivate this production. If the Spanish ministry do not bestow liberally their treasures upon these islanders, they will not awake from that long and profound lethargy in which they are plunged. This generosity would be very practicable in an empire where the public revenue amounts to 140,400,000 livres\*, where the expences do not exceed 129,600,000 livres†, and where there remains a balance of 10,800,000 livres‡, which may be

\* 5,850,000 l. † 5,400,000 l. ‡ 450,000 l.

laid out in improvements. It is true, that without receiving such powerful assistance from their respective governments, other nations have founded flourishing colonies; but besides that they had not been debased during the course of three centuries, by pride, languor, and poverty, they were also in more favourable and different circumstances.

HAPPY is the man, who is born after the extinction of this long series of errors which have infected his nation! Happy is the nation, that should rise up in the center of the most enlightened nations, if it were prudent enough to profit by the faults which they had committed, and to avail itself of the knowledge they had acquired. Such a nation would only have to cast her eyes about her, in order to discern the scattered materials that would constitute her happiness, and to attend to the collecting of them. One of the principal advantages which she would owe, either to the novelty of her origin, or to the tardiness of her labours, or to the long duration of her infant state, would be, that she would be spared the trouble of conquering those rooted prejudices, which were the result of the inexperience of the first legislators, which had been consecrated by time, and which had been maintained against reason and facts; either from pusillanimity, which is apprehensive of any innovation; or from pride, which dreads the being obliged to retract; or from a weak veneration for every thing of antient date.

LET the court of Madrid hasten to lay open it's treasures, and the islands subject to it's empire

empire will soon be covered with productions. Their subjects, placed upon an extensive and virgin soil, will not only be dispensed from buying at a high price what serves for their consumption; but, in a little time, they will supplant in all the markets their masters in this career. The most active, the most industrious, and the most enlightened nations, will have laboured for ages in improving their cultures, their mode of managing them and their manufactures, for the advantage merely of a rival, more favoured by nature than themselves. But it can scarce be expected, that they will submit patiently to such a misfortune.

Since the origin of societies, a fatal jealousy prevails among them, which must, it should seem, be perpetual, unless by some inconceivable revolution, they should be separated from each other by immense desert intervals. Hitherto they have shewed themselves in the same light as a citizen in our towns, who should be convinced, that the more his fellow citizens were indigent and weak, the more he would become rich and powerful, and the more he should be able to check their undertakings, to thwart their industry, to limit their cultures, and to confine them to what is absolutely necessary for their subsistence.

Would the nations, that have colonies in America, suffer the Spanish islands to become flourishing?

But it will be urged, that a citizen enjoys his wealth under the protection of the laws. The prosperity of his neighbour may increase without inconvenience to his own, but this is not the case with nations; and wherefore is it not?—It is because there doth not exist any tribunal before

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which they can be summoned.—But what need have they of such a tribunal?—Because they are unjust and pusillanimous.—And what advantage do they derive from their injustice and pusillanimity?—Perpetual wars, and misery which is incessantly renewed.—And can it be supposed, that experience will not correct them?—We are perfectly convinced of it,—and for what reason?—Because one madman is sufficient to disconcert the wisdom of all other powers, and there will always be more than one at a time upon the several thrones of the universe.

NEVERTHELESS, we hear on every side the nations, and especially those that are commercial, crying out for peace, while they still continue to conduct themselves towards one another, in a manner that excludes them from ever obtaining that blessing. They will all aspire to happiness, and each of them would enjoy it alone. They will all equally hold tyranny in detestation, and they will all exercise it upon their neighbours. They will all consider the idea of universal monarchy as extravagant, and yet they will most of them act as if they had either attained it, or were threatened with it.

COULD I expect any good to result from my discourse, I would address myself to the most turbulent, and the most ambitious among the nations, in the following terms:

“LET us suppose, that you have at length acquired a sufficient degree of authority among the nations, to reduce them to that state of degradation and poverty that is suitable to you,



" what can you expect from this despotism? For BOOK  
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 " how long a time, and at what price will you  
 " maintain it; and what advantages will accrue  
 " to you from it?—Do you expect that security,  
 " with which one is always sufficiently rich, and  
 " without which, one is never sufficiently so?—  
 " And can you really think yourself not suffi-  
 " ciently secure? You know, as well as I do,  
 " that the times of invasion are past, and it is  
 " thus you disguise an inordinate ambition, un-  
 " der the mask of a ridiculous phantom. You  
 " prefer the vain splendour of this ambition to  
 " the enjoyment of real happiness, which you  
 " lose in order to deprive others of it. What  
 " right have you to prescribe limits to their  
 " happiness, you who pretend to extend your's  
 " beyond all bounds? You are an unjust people,  
 " while you attribute to yourself the exclusive  
 " right of prosperity. You are a people erro-  
 " neous in your calculations, when you hope  
 " to enrich yourselves by reducing others to po-  
 " verty. You are still a blind people, if you do  
 " not conceive that the power of a nation which  
 " raises itself upon the ruins of all those that sur-  
 " round it, is a Colossus of clay, which astonishes  
 " for a moment, but which crumbles into dust."

I SHOULD afterwards say to the Spanish mi-  
 nistry: " All the states of Europe are interested  
 " in the prosperity of your continent in the New  
 " World, because the more these vast states shall  
 " be flourishing, the more will their merchan-  
 " dize and their manufactures find advantageous  
 " marts; but this is not the case with the islands.

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“The powers that have appropriated to themselves the fertility of some of them, are sufficient to provide for their present wants, and a new competitor would strongly excite their jealousy. They would attack this competitor either together or separately, would not lay aside their arms without having obliged him to give up the clearing of the lands, perhaps, even not without having made him experience still greater evils. It is your’s to judge, whether these views be false, or whether your strength and your courage will allow you to bid defiance to such a combination.” The Dutch colonies will never have any thing of this kind to fear.

Political  
steps taken  
by the re-  
public of the  
united pro-  
vinces at it’s  
first rise.

BEFORE the discovery of the western coast of Africa, of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and particularly before that of America, the European nations scarcely knew, or visited each other, except in making barbarous incursions, the aim of which was plunder, and the consequence destruction. Excepting a small number of tyrants, who, by oppressing the weak, found means to support a luxury dearly purchased, all the inhabitants of the different states were obliged to content themselves with the meagre subsistence furnished them by lands ill cultivated, and a trade which extended only to the frontiers of each province. Those great events towards the end of the fifteenth century, which form one of the most brilliant epochs of the history of the world, did not produce so sudden a change of manners as might naturally be supposed. Some

of

of the Hanse towns and some Italian republics, it is true, ventured as far as Cadiz and Lisbon, which were become great marts, to purchase the rare and valuable productions of the East and West Indies; but the consumption was very small, through the inability of the several nations to pay for them. Most of them were languishing in a state of absolute lethargy; they were totally ignorant of the advantages and resources of the countries that belonged to them.

To rouse them from this state of insensibility, there was wanting a people, who, springing from nothing, should inspire every mind with activity and intelligence, and diffuse plenty through every market; that should offer the produce of all countries at a lower price, and exchange the superfluities of every nation for those commodities which they want; that should give a quick circulation to produce merchandize and money; and, by facilitating and increasing consumption, should encourage population, agriculture, and every branch of industry. For all these advantages, Europe is indebted to the Dutch. The blind multitude may be excused in confining themselves to the enjoyment of their prosperity, without knowing the sources of it; but it is incumbent on the philosopher and the politician to transmit to posterity the fame of the benefactors of mankind; and to trace out, if it be possible, the progress of their beneficence.

WHEN the generous inhabitants of the United Provinces freed themselves from the dominion of the sea and of tyranny, they perceived that they

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could not fix the foundation of their liberty on a soil which did not afford even the necessaries of life. They were convinced, that commerce, which to most nations is no more than an accession, a means only of increasing the quantity and value of the produce of their respective countries, was to them the sole basis of their existence. Without territory and without productions, they determined to give a value to those of other nations, satisfied that their own would be the result of the general prosperity. The event justified their policy.

THEIR first step established, among the nations of Europe, an exchange of the commodities of the north with those of the south. In a short time the sea was covered with the ships of Holland. In her ports were collected all the commercial effects of different countries, and from thence they were dispersed to their respective destinations. Here the value of every thing was regulated, and with a moderation which precluded all competition. The ambition of giving greater stability and extent to her enterprises, excited in the republic a spirit of conquest. Her empire extended itself over a part of the Indian continent, and over all the islands of consequence in the sea that encompassed it. By her fortresses or her fleets, she kept in subjection the coasts of Africa, towards which her ambition, ever directed to useful objects, had turned its attentive and prudent views. Her laws were acknowledged only in those countries of America, where cultivation had sowed the seeds of real wealth. The immense chain of her



her connections embraced the universe, of which, by toil and industry, she became the soul. In a word, she had attained the universal monarchy of commerce.

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SUCH was the state of the United Provinces in 1661, when the Portuguese, recovering themselves from that languor and inaction which the tyranny of Spain had throw'n them into, found means to repossess themselves of that part of Brasil which the Dutch had taken from them. From this first stroke, that republic would have lost all footing in the New World, had it not been for a few small islands; particularly that of Curassou, which they had taken in 1634 from the Castilians, who had been in possession of it ever since 1527.

THIS rock, which is not above three leagues off the coast of Venezuela, is about ten leagues long and five broad. It has an excellent harbour, but the entrance is difficult. The bason is extremely large, and convenient in every respect; and it is defended by a fort skilfully constructed, and always kept in good repair.

Description  
of the Dutch  
island of Cu-  
rassou.

THE French, in 1673, having previously bribed the commandant, landed there to the number of five or six hundred men: but the treason having been discovered, and the traitor punished, they were received by his successor in a very different manner from what they expected, and reimbarcked with the disgrace of having exposed only their own weakness, and the iniquity of their measures.

LEWIS the XIVth, whose pride was hurt by this imprudent check, sent out d'Estrées five years after

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after with eighteen ships of war, and twelve buccaneering vessels, to wipe off the stain, which in his eyes tarnished the glory of a reign filled with wonders. The admiral was not far from the place of his destination, when by his rashness and obstinacy he ran his ships aground on Davis's island; and, after collecting the shattered remains of his fleet, returned in very bad condition to Brest, without having attempted any thing.

FROM this period neither Curassou, nor the little islands Aruba and Bonaire, which are dependent on it, have met with any disturbance. No nation has thought of seizing upon a barren spot, where they could find only a few cattle, some manioc, some vegetables proper to feed slaves, and not one article for commerce. St. Eustatia is of still less consequence.

Description  
of the Dutch  
island of St.  
Eustatia.

THIS island, which is only five leagues in length and one in breadth, is formed by two mountains, with a narrow vale between them. The eastern mountain bears evident traces of an ancient volcano, and is hollowed almost to the level of the sea. The borders of this gulph, which hath the figure of an inverted cone, are composed of rocks calcined by the fire they must have experienced. However plentiful the rains may be, there is never any collection of water in this crater. It is carried off undoubtedly through the channels of the volcano that still remain open, and may one day, perhaps, contribute to the rekindling of it, if it's focus be not extinguished or at too great a distance.

SOME

SOME Frenchmen, who had been driven from St. Christopher's, took refuge in 1629, in this almost uninhabitable place, and abandoned it some time after; perhaps because there was no fresh water, but what they got from rain collected in cisterns. The exact time of their quitting it is not known; but it is certain, that in 1639 the Dutch were in possession of it. They were afterwards driven out by the English, and these by Lewis the XIVth, who caused his right of conquest to be recognized in the negociation of Breda, and would not listen to the representations of the republic, with which he was then in alliance, and which pressed strongly for the restitution of this island, as having been in possession of it before the war. When the signing of the peace had put an end to these representations, the French monarch, whose pride more readily submitted to the dictates of generosity than of justice, thought it not consistent with his dignity to take advantage of the misfortunes of his friends. He of his own accord restored to the Dutch their island, although he knew that it was a natural fortress, which might be of service in defending that part of St. Christopher's which belonged to him.

THESE republicans before their disaster, cultivated only tobacco upon this territory. Since their re-establishment, they have planted in the places that were susceptible of this kind of culture, a few sugar canes, from which they have only received annually, eight or nine hundred thousand weight of raw sugar.

SOON

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of the Dutch  
Island of  
Saba.

Soon after this, the colony sent some of it's inhabitants to a neighbouring island, known by the name of Saba. This is a steep rock, on the summit of which is a little ground, very proper for gardening. Frequent rains which do not lie any time on the soil, give growth to plants of an exquisite flavour, and cabbages of an extraordinary size. Fifty European families, with about one hundred and fifty slaves, here raise cotton, spin it, make stockings of it, and sell them to other colonies for as much as ten crowns \* a pair. Throughout America there is no blood so pure as that of Saba; the women there preserve a freshness of complexion, which is not to be found in any other of the Caribbee islands. Happy colony! elevated on the top of a rock, between the sky and sea, it enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading their storms; it breathes a pure air, lives upon vegetables, cultivates a simple commodity, from which it derives ease, without the temptation of riches: is employed in labours less troublesome than useful, and possesses in peace all the blessings of moderation, health, beauty, and liberty. This is the temple of peace from whence the philosopher may contemplate at leisure the errors and passions of men, who come, like the waves of the sea, to strike and dash themselves on the rich coasts of America, the spoils and possession of which they are perpetually contending for, and wresting from each other: hence may he view at a distance the nations of

\* 11. 5s.



Europe bearing thunder in the midst of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the heats of the tropics; devouring gold without ever being satisfied; wading through seas of blood to amass those metals, those pearls, those diamonds, which are used to adorn the oppressors of mankind; loading innumerable ships with those precious casks, which furnish luxury with purple, and from which flow pleasures, effeminacy, cruelty, and debauchery. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this mass of follies, and spins his cotton in peace.

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UNDER the same climate lies the island of St. Martin, which hath seventeen or eighteen leagues in circumference, but less territory than might be expected from such dimensions, because it's bays are deep and numerous. The ocean hath formed, by pushing the sands from one cape to the other, several lakes, more or less extensive, and most of them abounding in fish. The inland part of the country is filled with high mountains, which extend almost every where as far as the sea. They were covered with valuable trees, before they were stripped of that ornament, to make room for cultures, which they were found to be better adapted to than the plains and the vallies. The soil is generally light, stony, too much exposed to frequent droughts, and not very fertile; but the sky is pure, and the climate remarkably healthy. The navigation is safe and easy in these latitudes, and the multiplicity and excellence of the anchoring places that are found there,

Description  
of the island  
of St. Mar-  
tin, part of  
which be-  
longs to the  
Dutch, and  
part to the  
French.

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there, occasions the want of harbours to be less sensibly felt.

THE Dutch and French landed, in 1638, in this desert island, the first to the South, and the latter towards the North. They lived there in peace, but separate from each other, when the Spaniards, who were at open war with both nations, attacked them, beat them, made them prisoners, and took possession of the place themselves: but the conquerors soon grew weary of an establishment, the preservation of which was very expensive, and from which they did not derive the least advantage. They therefore quitted it in 1648, after having destroyed every thing they could not carry with them.

THESE devastations did not hinder the former possessors from sending some vagabonds to the island, as soon as they knew that it was evacuated. These colonists swore a mutual faith to each other; and their descendants have been faithful to this engagement, notwithstanding the animosities that have so often disunited the two mother-countries. But the division of the territory, originally too unequal, hath been more equitably adjusted. Of ten thousand one hundred and eighty squares of ground, comprehending each two thousand five hundred square toises, which the island contains, the French possess no more than five thousand nine hundred and four; and the Dutch have succeeded in appropriating to themselves four thousand one hundred and seventy-six.

THE culture of tobacco was the first which the subjects of the court of Versailles undertook at St. Martin. They abandoned it for indigo, which was succeeded by cotton, to which sugar hath been added, since foreigners have been permitted, from the year 1769, to settle in this island. It reckons at present nineteen plantations, which yield annually one million weight of raw sugar, of a beautiful white colour, but of little consistence; and a still greater number of dwellings, which produce two hundred thousand weight of cotton. These labours are managed by fourscore families, thirty-two of which are French, and the rest English, and which form together a population of three hundred and fifty-one white persons, of every age and sex. They have but twelve thousand slaves. This is too little for the extent of the cultures: but the colonists of the Dutch part, who were proprietors of the best lands in the French part, have adopted the custom of sending their Negroes to the North, when the labours on the South are at an end. Before 1763, there had not been any regular system of authority in this feeble and miserable settlement. At this period a governor was given to it, who hath not yet attracted any trade from any other country. The French always go in quest of what they want to their neighbours; and always deliver to him their productions.

THE Dutch colony is inhabited by six hundred and thirty-nine white men, and three thousand five hundred and eighteen blacks, employed in the cultivation of thirty-two sugar plantations, which

which commonly produce sixteen hundred thousand weight of sugar; and in the growth of one hundred and thirty thousand cotton trees. This revenue, which is too insufficient, is increased by the produce of a salt marsh, in the seasons which are not excessively rainy. At the morning dawn, some soldiers embark upon flat-bottomed boats; they collect, during the course of the day, the salt which floats upon the surface of the water; and at night they return to shore, in order to begin again the next day this operation, which can only be continued during the months of June, July, and August. The neighbouring islands purchase a small quantity of this production, the total value of which may amount to one hundred thousand crowns \*; but it is principally sent to the provinces of North America, who carry off likewise the rum and the sugar of the colony, while the cotton is delivered to the traders of Great Britain. Nothing, or scarce any thing, is left for the active merchants of the republic, and for the following reasons:

THE settlement of St. Martin, although it belong to the Dutch, is not inhabited by Dutchmen. There are scarce five or six families of that nation to be found there, and those are even almost ashamed of their origin. All the rest is English, the people, the language, and the manners. Prejudice hath been carried so far, as to induce the women often to go and lay in at Anguilla, a British island, which is only

\* 12,500*l.*

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two leagues distant, in order that their children may not be deprived of an origin, which is considered in the country as the only one that is illustrious.

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THE domain of the United Provinces, in the great Archipelago of America, doth not offer any thing, either curious or interesting, at the first aspect. Possessions, which scarce furnish a cargo for six or seven small vessels, do not appear worthy of any attention. Accordingly, they would be buried in total oblivion, if some of these islands, which are nothing as places for cultivation, were not very considerable as commercial islands. We mean those of St. Eustatius and of Curassou.

Advantages which the trade of Holland acquires from her islands.

THE desire of forming contraband connections with the Spanish provinces of the New World, decided the conquest of Curassou. A great number of Dutch vessels soon arrived there. They were strong, well armed, and their crews consisted of choice men, whose bravery was supported by powerful motives of interest. Each of them had a share, more or less considerable, in the cargo, which he was determined to defend with his life against the attacks of the Guarda Costas.

THE Spaniards did not always wait for the smugglers. They often resorted of themselves to a staple, which was constantly well supplied, in order to barter their gold, their silver, their bark, their cacao, their tobacco, their hides, and their cattle, for Negroes, linens, silks, Indian stuffs, spices, quicksilver, and iron or steel manufactures. This was a reciprocal connection of wants and of assistance, of labours and of expeditions,

Between two nations, greedy of riches, and rivals of each other.

THE settlement of the company of Caraccas, and the substitution of the register ships to the galleons, hath much diminished this communication: but the connections which have been formed with the South part of the French colony of St. Domingo, have made up in some measure for this deficiency. Every thing is revived, when the two crowns are plunged into the horrors of war, either by their own ambition, or by the ambition of their rivals. Even in time of peace, the republic receives annually from Curassou, twelve vessels laden with sugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and hides, which have been cultivated in a foreign soil.

EVERY commodity, without exception, that is landed at Curassou, pays one per cent. port-duty. Dutch goods are never taxed higher; but those that are shipped from other European ports pay nine per cent. more. Foreign coffee is subject to the same tax, in order to promote the sale of that of Surinam. Every other production of America is subject only to a payment of three per cent. but with an express stipulation, that they are to be conveyed directly to some port of the republic.

ST. EUSTATIA was formerly subject to the same impositions as Curassou; and yet it carried on most of the trade of Guadaloupe, and of Martinico, during the time that these French settlements remained under the odious yoke of monopoly. This business diminished, in proportion as

the proprietors of those islands adopted sound principles of commerce, and extended their navigation. The free port of St. Thomas was even carrying off from the Dutch the small share of trade they had still retained, when in 1756, it was resolved to abolish most of the established taxes. Since this necessary alteration, St. Eustatia, during the divisions between the ministers of London and Versailles, is become the staple of almost all the merchandize of the French colonies in the Leeward Islands, and the general magazine of supply for them. But this great operation was not conducted singly by the Dutch; both English and French united in the harbour of this island, to form, under shelter of it's neutrality, commercial engagements. A Dutch passport, which cost less than 300 livres \*, concealed these connections, and was granted, without inquiring of what nation the person was who applied for it. This great liberty gave rise to numberless transactions, and to singular combinations. Thus it is that commerce found the art of pacifying or eluding the vigilance of discord.

THE end of hostilities doth not render St. Eustatius of less importance. It still sends annually to the United Provinces twenty-five or thirty vessels, laden with the productions of the Spanish and Danish, and especially of the French islands, which it pays for with the merchandize of the two hemispheres, or with bills of exchange upon Europe.

\* 12l. 10s.

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ALL

ALL these transactions have brought together, at St. Eustatius, six thousand white people, of various nations, five hundred Negroes or Mulattoes, and eight thousand slaves. A governor, assisted by a council, without which nothing material can be decided, directs, under the authority of the West India Company, this singular settlement, as well as those of Saba and St. Martin. He resides near a very dangerous anchorage, which, however, is the only one of the island where the vessels can land and take in their cargoes. This bad harbour is protected by a small fort, and by a garrison of fifty men. If it were defended with vigour and skill, the most daring enemy would, in all probability, fail in attempting a descent, which, if even effected, the besieger would still find an almost insurmountable difficulty to conquer, in ascending from the lower town, where the magazines are kept, to the upper town, where all the inhabitants are assembled in the night-time.

THE Dutch, however, equally ingenious in finding out the means of turning to their own advantage both the prosperity and the misfortunes of others, are not entirely confined, in the New World, to the fluctuating profits of a precarious trade. The republic possesses and cultivates, in the continent, a large territory in the country know'n by the name of Guyana.

Philosophical  
considerations on  
Guyana.

THIS is a vast country, washed on the East by the sea, on the South by the Amazon, on the North by the Orinoko, and on the West by  
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Rio-Negro, which joins these two rivers, that are the largest in South America.

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THIS singular island presents three remarkable circumstances. The several species of earth are not here disposed, as they are elsewhere, in layers, but casually mixed, and without any order. In the correspondent hills, the salient angles of the one are not answerable to the re-entering angles of the others. The substances, which have been generally taken for flints, are nothing more than pieces of lava, that are beginning to be decomposed.

It follows from these observations, that some revolutions have happened in this part of the globe, and that they have been the work of subterraneous fires, at present extinguished; that the conflagration has been general, because masses are every where seen, filled with the scorine of iron; and that calcareous stones, which probably have been all calcined, are not to be found in any part; that the explosion must have been very considerable, and must have levied a great quantity of earth, because volcanoes are only to be found upon the highest mountains, and that the only one on which the crater hath been perceived in these regions, is raised little more than a hundred feet above the level of the sea.

AT the period of these great accidents of nature, every thing must have been subverted. The fields must have remained uncovered, alternately exposed to the action of torrents of rain, or to the effects of excessive heat. In this state of revolution, many centuries must have elapsed be-

fore the soil can have again become fit to nourish the plants, and after them the trees. We might however be liable to mistake, if we were to compute this change at an excessive distance. The small quantity of vegetating earth found in Guyana, although some be continually formed there by the decomposition of the trees, would furnish an unanswerable argument against the idea of a very remote antiquity.

In the inland parts of the country, the soil is therefore, and will continue for a long time, ungrateful. The upper lands, that is to say, those which are not under water, or marshy, are for the most part nothing more than a confused mixture of clay and chalk, where nothing can grow but manioc, yams, potatoes, and some other plants, which do not turn round on the stem; and even these are too frequently rooted in the season of heavy rains, because the water cannot be drained off. Even in those lands, which are necessarily looked upon as good, the coffee, the cacao, the cotton plants, and all the useful trees, last but for a very short time, and not sufficiently to reward the labours of the cultivator. Such is, without exception, the interior part of Guyana.

It's shores present another spectacle. The numerous rivers, which from this vast space precipitate themselves in the ocean, deposite incessantly upon their borders, and upon the whole coast, a prodigious quantity of seeds, which germinate in the slime, and produce, in less than ten years, lofty trees, known by the name of mangroves. These large vegetables, attached to their

balis

basis by deep roots, occupy all the space where the tide is perceptible. They form vast forests, covered with four or five feet of water during flood, and at the time of ebb, with an equal depth of a soft and inaccessible mud.

THIS spectacle, which is perhaps not to be equalled in the universe, varies every year upon the coast. In the places where sands are brought and accumulated by the currents, the mangrove perishes with great rapidity, and the forests are carried away by the waves, and disappear. These revolutions are less frequent on the borders of the rivers, where the sands, brought from the mountains during the storms, are conveyed to a distance by the rapidity of the waters.

THE revolutions are the same upon the coast of four hundred leagues, which extends from the Amazon to the Oronooko. There is every where found, upon the shore, a line of mangroves, alternately destroyed and renewed by the flume and by the sand. Behind this row, at the distance of four or five hundred feet, are found savannahs, deluged by the rain waters, which have no drain, and these savannahs are always extended laterally towards the shore, to a depth more or less considerable, according to the distance or nearness of the mountains.

THESE immense morasses have never been passed by any thing but reptiles since the creation. The genius of man, prevailing over an ungrateful and rebellious soil, hath altered their primitive destination. It is in the midst of these stagnating, infectious, and muddy waters, that

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Settlement  
formed by  
the Dutch  
in Guyana,  
upon the  
river Suri-  
nam. Re-  
markable  
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the colony.

the spirit of liberty hath formed three useful settlements, the most considerable of which is Surinam.

Six years afterwards, there appeared in this forsaken spot some of those Frenchmen, whom a restless disposition then hurried into all climates, and whom their volatile turn prevented from settling in most of them. They massacred the natives of the country, began to construct a fort, and disappeared.

THEIR retreat brought back, in 1650, the nation that had first turned their attention to that so long neglected part of the New Hemisphere. The colony had formed forty or fifty sugar plantations, when it was attacked and taken by the Dutch, who were secured in their conquest by the treaty of Breda.

ZEALAND pretended to have the exclusive right over this useful acquisition, because it had been gained by their troops and their ships. The other provinces, who had shared the expences of the expedition, insisted that it should belong in common to them all. This discussion had for a long time inflamed the minds of the people, when it was resolved in 1682, that Surinam should be given up to the West India Company, but upon condition that they should pay 572,000 livres\* to the Zealanders; that the trade of the company should be limited to the sale of slaves; and that the country should be open to all the subjects, and to all the traders of the republic.

\* 23,833 l. 6s. 8d.

ALTHOUGH



ALTHOUGH the imagination of this great company was filled with remembrance of their former prosperity, they soon comprehended, that the expences required to establish cultures throughout an immense region were above their exhausted strength. The year following they ceded one-third of their right to the city of Amsterdam, and one-third to a rich citizen, whose name was Van Aarsen, at a price proportioned to what they themselves paid for it. This extraordinary arrangement lasted till 1772, at which period the descendants of Van Aarsen sold their property for 1,540,000 livres\*, to the two other members of the association.

THE company found Surinam plunged into those disorders which are the necessary consequence of a long state of anarchy. Their representative wanted to establish some kind of police, some kind of justice. He was accused of tyranny to the States General, and massacred in 1688 by the troops.

THE colony was attacked the year following by the French, under the command of Ducaffe. The skill of this chief, and the efforts of the brave adventurers who attended him, were not powerful enough against a settlement, where the civil and military troubles had caused a fermentation in the minds of men, who had just been reconciled by a prospect of imminent danger. Cafard, a native of St. Malo, was more fortunate in 1712. He laid Surinam under contributions, and

\* 64,166 l. 13 s. 4 d.

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carried off to the amount of 1,370,160 livres\*, in sugar, or in bills of exchange. This disaster, so much more unexpected as it happened at a time when the arms of the republic were triumphant every where else, distressed the planters, who were obliged to give a tenth of their capitals.

THE society were accused of having neglected the fortifications, and of having employed, to defend them, only a few troops, and those ill-disciplined. These complaints were soon extended to more serious objects. The reasons, or the pretences for discontent, were multiplied daily. The States General wearied with all these contests, charged the Stadtholder to put an end to them in whatever manner he might think the most proper. This first magistrate had not yet succeeded in conciliating the minds of the people, when it became necessary to attend to the safety of the colony.

SCARCELY had the English settled on the banks of the Surinam, before several of their slaves took refuge in the inland countries. The desertion was still more considerable under the Dutch dominion; because they required more constant labours, because the quantity of subsistence was diminished, and more severe punishments were inflicted. These fugitives, in process of time, became numerous enough to form a colony. They used to quit their place of refuge in a body, in order to supply themselves with provisions, arms, and instruments of agriculture; and they

\* 57,290 l.

brought

brought back with them the Negroes who chose to go with them. Some attempts were made to put a stop to these excursions; but they were fruitless, and could not be otherwise. Soldiers grow'n effeminate, officers without merit, and without a sense of honour, had an insurmountable aversion for a war, where deep morasses and thicke forests were to be passed, in order to get within reach of a bold and implacable enemy.

The danger became at last so urgent, that the republic thought proper to send, in 1749, in 1772, and in 1774, some of their best battalions to the assistance of the colony. All that these brave men, arrived from Europe, have been able to accomplish, after various and bloody engagements, has been to procure some kind of tranquillity to the planters, who were before every day in danger of being either ruined or murdered. It hath been necessary successively to acknowledge the independence of several numerous hords, but which have no communication with each other, and are separated by considerable distances. Annual presents are sent them, and it hath been stipulated that they should enjoy all the advantages of a free trade. These new nations have on their part agreed only to assist their ally, if it be necessary; and to return them every slave who shall take refuge upon their territory. To give a sanction to these several treaties, the plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties have caused an incision to be made in their arms. The blood was received in vases filled with water and earth. This disgusting mixture hath been drunk on both sides,

R. O. O. R.  
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Causes of  
the prosper-  
ity of the  
colony of  
Surinam.

sides, in token of fidelity. If they had refused to submit to this extreme humiliating step, these oppressive masters would never have obtained a peace from their former slaves.

AFTER so many fatal events, the colony is still become more flourishing than could have been expected. The causes of this surprising prosperity cannot but be curious and interesting.

THE first Europeans who settled in those barbarous regions, established their cultures at first upon heights, which were commonly barren. It was soon suspected that their saline particles had been detached by the torrents, and that it was from these successive layers of an excellent slime, that the lower grounds had been formed. Some fortunate experiments confirmed this judicious conjecture, and it was determined to take advantage of so great a discovery. This was not an easy undertaking, but the desire of success surmounted all obstacles.

THESE vast plains are overflowed by the rivers with which they are watered, but not during the whole year. Even in the season of the overflows, the waters are diffused a little before, and a little after the times of high water. During the ebb, the rivers retire gradually, and at low water are sometimes several feet below the soil, which they covered six hours before.

THE drying up of these grounds must be begun when the rains are not abundant, and when the rivers are low. This season begins in August, and ends in the month of December. During this period, the space which is to be secured from inundations



inundations is surrounded with a dyke, sufficient to resist the waters. It is seldom necessary to raise it above three feet high, because it is not usual to chuse a territory that is more than two feet under water, to settle a plantation upon.

At one of the corners of the dyke, which is made of the earth of the ditch digged for that purpose, is an hydraulic machine, entirely open on one side, cut on the other in the shape of a beak, and furnished with a flood-gate, which is opened by the impulse of the waters from below upwards, and which shuts again by its own weight. When the agitation of the sea swells the waves, the rivers press upon this flood-gate, and close it so effectually, that the waters on the out-side cannot get in to it. When, on the contrary, the rivers are low, the internal and rain waters, if there be any, raise the gate up, and the waters run off very easily.

In the inner part of the dyke, at different distances from each other, a few slight trenches are made. They all terminate in a ditch, which surrounds the plantation. This precaution contributes to raise the soil, and to carry off any superfluous moisture that might remain.

The labours of one year are sufficient to surround the territory which is intended to be inclosed. It is ploughed the second year, and might be cultivated at the beginning of the third, if it were not absolutely necessary to leave it for a sufficient length of time exposed to the influence of the fresh water, in order to counteract the action of the marine salts. This circumstance necessarily

## HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

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cessarily retards the crops more than could be wished; but the abundance of them compensates for the delay.

THE coffee-tree, which is generally planted, in other colonies, upon the sloping grounds, leaves sooner or later a void, which cannot be filled up, either by another coffee tree, or by any other plant, because the storms have successively deprived this soil of every thing that rendered it fertile. This is not the case at Surinam. This valuable tree doth not, indeed, preserve it's vigour more than about twenty years; but the young plants, put between the old ones, and intended to succeed them, prevent the planter from being sensible of this premature decay. This is the reason that the crops are never interrupted. They are even more plentiful than in the other settlements.

THE disposition of the sugar plantations, in those singular marshes, have this peculiarity attending them, that the territory is intersected by several small canals, destined for the conveyance of the sugar-canes. They all terminate in the great canal, which receives the waters when they rise, by one of it's outlets; and by the other works a mill, when they descend. The first production in these plantations is very indifferent; but it acquires, in process of time, the proper degree of perfection. This may be waited for with less impatience in a region where the canes, at their fifth or sixth crop, yield as much sugar as is obtained elsewhere from the new-planted canes. One of the principles of this fertility must be, the facility

facility with which the planters can surround their habitations with water, during the dry season. The habitual moisture which this method keeps up in the grounds, appears preferable to the watering of them, which is practised in other parts at a considerable expence, and which cannot even be always done every where.

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SINCE the Dutch have succeeded in subduing the ocean in the New World, as well as in the Old, their cultures have prospered. They have carried them on twenty leagues beyond the sea, and given to their plantations an agreeable aspect and convenience, which are not to be perceived in the most flourishing possessions of the English or French. Spacious and well-contrived buildings, terraces perfectly streight, kitchen-gardens exquisitely neat, delightful orchards, and walks planted with symmetry, strike the eye on all sides. So many wonders, accomplished in less than a century, in sloughs that were originally disgusting and unwholesome, cannot be viewed without emotion. But the severe eye of reason puts a restraint on the transports excited by this enchanting scene. The capitals employed in these superfluities would be more wisely laid out in the multiplication of vendible productions.

ONE of the means by which labour, and that kind of luxury that hath been introduced, have been chiefly encouraged, has been the extreme facility which the colonists have found in getting a capital. They have obtained all the money they could make use of, at the rate of five or six per cent. but with the express condition, that their

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Present state  
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their plantations should remain mortgaged to their creditor; and that till the sum was entirely paid off, they should be obliged to give up to him all their productions at the current price in the colony.

WITH the assistance of these loans, four hundred and thirty plantations have been formed on the banks of the Surinam, of the Commewine, of the rivers of Cottica and of Perica. In 1775, they yielded twenty-four millions one hundred and twenty thousand weight of rough sugar, which was sold in Holland for 8,333,400 livres\*; fifteen millions three hundred and eighty-seven pounds weight of coffee, which were sold for 8,580,934 livres†; nine hundred and seventy thousand pounds weight of cotton, which were sold for 2,372,255 livres‡; seven hundred and ninety thousand eight hundred and fifty-four pounds weight of cacao, which were sold for 616,370 livres§; one hundred and fifty-two thousand eight hundred and forty-four pounds weight of wood for dying, which were sold for 14,788 livres\$. The sum total of these productions, amounted to 19,917,747 livres¶, and was brought into the harbours of the republic upon seventy vessels. The number of these vessels would have increased, if the five hundred and sixty thousand gallons of melasses, and the hundred and sixty-six gallons of rum, sent to North America, had been conveyed to Europe; and

\* 347,225 l.

† 98,843 l. 19 s. 2 d.

§ 616 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† 357,538 l. 18 s. 4 d.

|| 25,682 l. 1 s. 8 d.

¶ 822,905 l. 19 s. 2 d.

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they will still increase, if the tobacco which hath just begun to be planted, should thrive as well as is expected.

THE united labours of these settlements, employed in 1775 sixty thousand slaves of every age and sex. They belonged to two thousand eight hundred and twenty four masters, exclusive of the women and children. The white people were of several countries and of different religions.

SUCH is the influence of the spirit of trade, that it forces all national and religious prejudices to submit to that general interest, which should be the bond of union among mankind. What are those idle nominal distinctions of Jews or Christians, French or Dutch? Miserable inhabitants of a spot, which ye cultivate with so much toil and sorrow; are ye not all brethren? Why then do ye drive each other from a world, where ye live but for an instant? And what a life too is it, that ye have the folly and cruelty to dispute with each other the enjoyment of? Is it not sufficient, that the elements, the heavens, and even the earth, combat against you, but ye must add to those scourges, with which nature hath surrounded you, the abuse of that little strength she has left you to resist them?

PARAMABIRO, the principal place of the colony of Surinam, is a small town pleasantly situated. The houses are pretty and convenient; though they are only built of wood upon a foundation of European bricks. It's port, which is five leagues distant from the sea, has every re-

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quisite that can be desired. It is the rendezvous of all the ships dispatched from the mother-country to receive the produce of this colony. The company to which this large settlement belongs, is obliged to defray the public expences. The sovereign hath enabled them to fulfil this obligation, by permitting them to levy some taxes, which cannot be increased without the consent of the state and of the inhabitants. A poll-tax of one hundred sols \*, upon every free adult or slave; and of sixty sols † for every child, was formerly the highest of these contributions. In 1776, it hath been changed for another less degrading, of six per cent. upon the productions of the country, upon the profits of trade, and upon the wages of the several occupations. Nevertheless, the payment of two and a half per cent. for the commodities which were exported from the colony, and of one and a half per cent. for those which were imported, hath not been discontinued. These taxes united, are scarce sufficient for the great object for which they are designed, and there is seldom any thing remaining for the benefit of the company.

BESIDE the taxes levied for the company, there is one which is rather considerable, upon the productions of the colony, which the citizens have agreed to establish themselves for their respective wants; and especially for the pay of three hundred free negroes, who are employed in protecting the cultures from the incursions of the fugitive Negroes.

\* 4s. 2d.

† 2s. 6d.

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NOTWITHSTANDING all these imposts, and notwithstanding the obligation of paying the interest of 77,000,000 livres \*, the colony was in a flourishing state, while it's productions had a certain and advantageous mart. But since coffee hath lost in trade one half of it's former price, every thing is fallen into extreme confusion; the debtor is become insolvent, hath been driven from his plantation. Even the most merciless creditor hath not been able to recover his capital, and they have both been ruined. Men have become still more exasperated against each other, their minds have been depressed, and it is difficult to foresee at what period concord and industry will revive. Let us examine what hath been the fate of Berbice, during this fatal crisis.

THIS settlement bounded on the east by the river Corentin, and on the west by the territory of Demerary, extends no more than ten leagues along the coast. In the inland part of the country it might reach as far as that part of the Cordeieras, know'n by the name of the Blue Mountains. The great river from which it hath derived it's name, being choaked up at it's mouth by a bank of mud and sand, hath at first no more than fourteen or fifteen feet in depth; but it soon acquires forty, and it's navigation is easy as far as thirty-six leagues from the sea, which is the utmost extent of the most distant plantations.

Foundation of the colony of Berbice. It's past misfortunes and it's present misery.

THE foundations of this colony were laid in 1626. As it was formed in a district included

\* 3,208,333 l. 6s. 8d.

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in the grant given to the West India company, that body, which was at that time powerful, and strongly protected, reserved to themselves some privileges, and more especially the exclusive sale of slaves. The culture of sugar and arnotto, which were the only articles attended to, had not made any considerable progress; when, in 1689, some French adventurers ravaged the country, and did not leave it till they had extorted the promise of 44,000 livres\*, which were never paid. Some Frenchmen invaded the colonies again in 1712. In order to escape pillage, and to get rid of these foreigners, the inhabitants engaged to give them 660,000 livres†. The Negroes, the sugar, and the provisions which were delivered, amounted to 28,654 livres, 4 sols‡, the remainder was to be paid in Europe by the proprietors of the habitations, who all belonged to the province of Zeeland. Whether from inability, or through design, they refused to ratify an engagement entered into without their consent. Three rich individuals of Amsterdam fulfilled the obligation, and became sole proprietors of Berbice.

THEY conducted themselves with prudence and moderation. They restored the antient plantations, they introduced a better method among those who cultivated them; they added the culture of cacao to those which were already known; but their capital was not sufficient to raise the colony to that degree of prosperity of which it

\* 1,833 l. 6 s 8 d. † 27,500 l. ‡ 1,193 l. 18 s. 6 d.



appeared to be susceptible; 7,040,000 livres \*, were thought necessary for this great object, and sixteen shares, each of 4,400 livres †, were created. They were not able to dispose of more than nine hundred and forty-one, upon which even the purchasers did not furnish more than 42 per cent. Thus the new capital was reduced to 1,573,352 livres ‡, out of which 1,320,000 livres § belonged to the former company for the cession of all their property, so that the remainder of the money amounted to no more than 273,352 livres ||.

THIS was a very small sum to answer the intended purpose. The proprietors were themselves so well convinced of it, that in 1730, they required that every subject of the state should be allowed to trade to Berbice and to settle there, upon condition of paying in America six livres ¶ poll-tax for every white man, and for every Negro they should place upon their habitation 55 livres \*\* per plantation, towards the ecclesiastical contribution; two and a half per cent. for all the merchandize which should enter the colony, or for the provisions which should be carried out of it; and in Europe 3 livres †† per ton, for every thing they should receive from the ports of the republic, and three livres ‡‡ per ton for every article they should send there. With these assist-

\* 293,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

† 183 l. 6 s. 8 d.

‡ 65,556 l. 6 s. 8 d.

§ 55,000 l.

|| 11,389 l. 13 s. 4 d.

¶ 5 s.

\*\* 2 l. 5 s. 10 d.

†† 2 s. 6 d.

‡‡ 2 s. 6 d.

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ances, the company engaged to defray all the expences that should be wanted for government, for defence, for the police, and for the legislation of that settlement. The states general approved of this plan, and gave it the sanction of their laws, by a decree of the 6th December 1732.

A TOLERABLE degree of activity was the fortunate result of these new arrangements. Every thing was in a prosperous state, when in 1756, the white people, and they alone, were attacked with an epidemical disorder which lasted seven years, and destroyed the greatest number of them. The state of weakness to which Berbice was reduced by this calamity, encouraged the slaves to rebel in 1763. Upon the first intimation of this insurrection, twenty soldiers, and a few colonists who had escaped the contagion, took refuge upon four vessels that were in the river, and soon after secured themselves in a redoubt built near the ocean. They were at length enabled, by the assistance sent from all quarters to them, to return to their plantations, and even to subdue the Negroes; but their authority was established only upon ruins and upon dead bodies.

THE company being ruined, as well as the inhabitants, were obliged to call upon the holders of shares, for a contribution of eight per cent. which made up the sum of 330,000 livres\*, and to borrow 1,100,000 livres†, of the province of Holland, at the interest of two and a half per cent. These sums not being yet sufficient to ful-

\* 13,750 l.

† 45,833 l. 6s. 8d.

fil their obligations, they obtained of the republic in 1774, that the taxes levied till this period should for the future be doubled. The new taxes threw the planters, already too much discouraged by the total loss of their cacao trees, and by the enormous reduction of the price of their coffee, into despair. Accordingly this settlement, upon which so great hopes had been founded, is continually decreasing.

THERE are but one hundred and four plantations in the colony, most of which are inconsiderable, scattered at great distances upon the banks of the river Berbice, or upon that of Canje, which empties itself in the first, at three leagues distance from the sea. Their population consists of seven thousand slaves of every age and sex, and of two hundred and fifty white men, exclusive of the soldiers, who ought to amount to the same number. The coffee, the sugar, and cotton they produce annually, is conveyed to the mother-country upon four or five ships, and is not sold for more than one million, or twelve hundred thousand livres\*. From this sum an interest of six per cent. ought to be deducted, which the colonists have engaged to pay for about 1,760,000 livres†, which they have borrowed; but this is an obligation which it is not in their power to fulfil. The lenders are obliged to be satisfied with four, three, or two per cent. Several of them even do not receive any thing.

\* From 41,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to 50,000*l.*

† 73,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

ALTHOUGH, according to the calculations delivered in 1772 to the States General, the annual expences of sovereignty, do not exceed in Europe and in America 190,564 livres\*; the company are nevertheless in a desperate situation. From 1720 to 1763, the united dividends have not amounted to more than 61 per cent. which makes, one year with another, no more than  $1\frac{1}{4}\%$ . After this period there hath been no more dividend. Accordingly, the shares which have cost 2,200 livres†, are no longer marketable, they would not sell for 110 livres‡. A very different idea must be formed of the colony of Essequibo.

Antiquity of the colony of Essequibo. Cause of it's prosperity, after having remained for a long time in a languid state.

THIS river, twelve leagues distant from that of Berbice, first attracted the attention of the Dutch, who, as well as the other Europeans, infested Guyana with their plunders towards the end of the sixteenth century, in hopes of finding gold there. It is unknow'n at what precise period they settled at Essequibo; but it is certain, that they were driven from it by the Spaniards in 1595.

It is evident, that these republicans returned to their post, since they were again expelled from it in 1666 by the English, and even they could not maintain themselves there for one whole year. This settlement, which had always been inconsiderable, was reduced to nothing when the Dutch retook possession of it. In 1740, it's productions did not form more than the cargo of one single vessel.

\* 7,940 l. 3s. 4d. † 91 l. 13s. 4d. ‡ 4 l. 11s. 8d.



Two or three years after, some of the colonists of Essequibo, turned their attention towards the neighbouring river of Demerary. Its borders were found very fertile, and this discovery was attended with fortunate circumstances.

For some time past the clearing of the lands had been suspended at Surinam, by the bloody and ruinous war which the colonists sustained against the Negroes assembled in the woods. Berbice was likewise disturbed by the revolt of its slaves. The West India company seized this favourable opportunity of inviting enterprising men of all nations, to share in the grant that had been made to them. Those who arrived there with a small share of property, received gratuitously a certain extent of territory, with some other encouragements. They were even assured, that after their first labours, they should obtain a loan of the value of three fifths of the settlements they should have formed upon moderate terms. This arrangement became a fruitful source of industry, of activity, and of œconomy. In 1769, there were already established upon the banks of the Demerary, one hundred and thirty habitations, in which sugar, coffee, and cotton were cultivated with success. The number of plantations hath much increased since that period, and it will still increase a great deal more.

SUCH is the state of the three colonies, which the Dutch have successively formed in Guyana. It is deplorable, and will remain so for a long while, perhaps for ever, unless government in their wisdom, in their generosity, and in their courage,

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Confusion  
that prevails  
in the Dutch  
colonies.

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courage, can suggest some expedient to relieve the planters from the oppressive burthen of the debts which they have contracted.

In modern times, the governments themselves have set the example of loans. The facility of obtaining them at an interest more or less burthensome, hath engaged, or supported almost all of them, in wars, incompatible with their natural resources. This folly hath infected the cities, the provinces, and the several associations of men. The large trading companies have also greatly extended this custom; and it hath afterwards become familiar to bold men, urged by their disposition, to extraordinary enterprises.

THE Dutch, who, in proportion to their territory and to their population, had accumulated a greater quantity of metals than any other people, and who did not find a use for them in their own transactions, extensive even as they were, have endeavoured to place them to advantage in the public funds of all nations, and even in the speculative undertakings of individuals. Their money hath served particularly to cultivate some foreign colonies in America, and principally their own. But the precaution they had taken of having the plantations of their debtors mortgaged to them, hath not produced the effect which they expected from it. They have never been reimbursed their capital, and have even never received the interest of their money, since the provisions of those settlements have been reduced in their price. The contracts made with the planters, who are reduced to a state of indigence, have  
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fallen fifty, sixty, eighty per cent. below their original value.

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THIS is a matter totally ruinous. It would be in vain to examine, whether it must be attributed to the avidity of the merchants settled at Amsterdam, or to the inactivity and idle expences of the colonists removed beyond the seas. These discussions would not diminish the evil. We will leave such idle questions to be discussed by idle men, let them write and dispute; if no good should result from this, there is not much harm in it. But it is exertion, and not discourse, that is required in a conflagration. While time would be lost in examining what hath been the cause of the fire, what ravages it hath made, and what it's progress hath been, the building would be reduced to ashes. A matter of a very urgent nature should engage the attention of the States General. Let them relieve that vast extent of country subject to Holland, from the river Pousmaron to that of Marony, from the anxiety it labours under, and from the misery with which it is oppressed, and let them afterwards remove the other obstacles which so obstinately impede it's advancement.

THAT difficulty which arises from the climate, appears the most unsurmountable. In this region, the year is divided between continual rains and excessive heats. Disgusting reptiles are incessantly attacking the crops purchased by the most assiduous labours. The colonists run the risk of perishing, either by dropsies, or by fevers of all kinds. Authority is unavailing against these

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these scourges of nature. The only remedy, if there can be one, must be the work of time, of population, and of the clearing of the lands.

WHAT the laws can, and what they ought to do, would be to unite to the body of the republic, possessions which are in a manner casually abandoned to private associations, who do not attend sufficiently, or in a proper manner, to the several parts of administration in the countries subject to their monopoly. States have been all convinced, sooner or later, of the inconvenience of leaving the provinces they have invaded in the other hemisphere to chartered companies, whose interests seldom coincided with those of the public. They have at length understood, that the distance did not alter the nature of the express, or tacit covenant made between administration and the subjects; and that when the subjects have said we will obey, we will serve, we will contribute to the formation and to the maintenance of the public strength, and that the ministry have answered, we will protect you within by our police and by our laws; and without by negotiations and by arms, these conditions ought equally to be fulfilled on both sides, from one bank of a river to the opposite side, from one shore of the sea to that which is opposed to it; they have understood, that the stipulated protection being withdraw'n, the obedience and the promised succours were of course suspended; that if the assistances should be required, when the protection had ceased, administration would degenerate into a tyrannical system of plunder; and that the people  
were



were released from the oath of fidelity towards them; that they were entitled to free themselves from a bad master, and at liberty to chuse another; that they returned to a state of absolute freedom, and recovered the prerogative of instituting any form of government that might be thought most suitable to them. From these circumstances, states have concluded, that their subjects of the New World, had as much right as those of the Old, to depend upon government only; and that their colonies would be in a more flourishing condition under the immediate protection of the state, than under that of any intervening power. The success hath generally demonstrated the solidity of these views. None but the United Provinces have adhered to the original plan. This infatuation cannot last; whenever it shall be dissipated, the revolution will be effected without commotion, because none of the associations which must be abolished, have any interest in opposing it: it will even be accomplished without embarrassment, because none of those associations have one single vessel, or carry on the least trade. The Dutch possessions in Guyana, will then form one entire state, capable of making some resistance.

IN the present state of things, Berbice and Essequibo, are scarce able to repulse an enterprising pirate, and would be obliged to capitulate at the appearance of the smallest squadron. The eastern part, which by it's wealth is exposed to greater danger, is better defended. The entrance of the Surinam river is not very practicable on account  
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of it's sand-banks. Ships, however, that do not draw more than twenty feet water, can come in at flood. At two leagues from it's outlet, the Commewine joins the Surinam. This point of union the Dutch have principally fortified. They have erected a battery on the Surinam, another on the right bank of the Commewine, and on the left bank, a citadel called Amsterdam. These works form a triangle; and their fires, which cross each other, are contrived to have the double effect of preventing ships from proceeding further up one river, and from entering into the other. The fortress is situated in the middle of a small morass, and is inaccessible, except by a narrow causeway entirely commanded by the artillery. It requires no more than eight or nine hundred men to garrison it completely. It is flanked with four bastions, and surrounded with a mud rampart, a wide ditch full of water, and a good covered way: for the rest, it is unprovided with powder magazines, hath no vaults, nor any kind of casement. Three leagues higher up on the Surinam is a masked battery, intended to cover the harbour and town of Paramabiro. It is called, Fort Zeeland. A battery of the same kind, which they call Sommeswelt-fort, covers the Commewine at nearly the same distance. The forces of the colony consist of it's militia and twelve hundred regulars, and of two companies of artillery.

If this settlement were united to the two others, and if all these divided territories were joined, they would mutually assist each other. The republic itself, accustomed to cast a watchful eye upon

upon a domain become more particularly it's own property, would protect it with all it's power. The sea and land forces would be employed to shelter it from the dangers with which it might be threatened on the side of Europe, and to relieve it from the state of anxiety with which it is continually agitated even in the continent.

THE Dutch exercised against the Negroes in Guyana, cruelties unknow'n in the islands. The facility of desertion in an immense territory, hath probably occasioned this excess of barbarity. A slave is put to death by his master upon the slightest suspicions, in presence of all the other slaves, but with the precaution of keeping the white men out of sight, because they alone might give their testimony in a court of justice, against this usurpation of public authority.

THESE cruelties have successively driven to the forests, a considerable multitude of these deplorable victims of an infamous avarice. A sharp and bloody war hath been carried on against them without a possibility of destroying them. Their independence hath at length been necessarily acknowledged, and since these remarkable treaties they have formed several hamlets, where they cultivate in peace, upon the back settlements of the colony, the provisions they are absolutely in want of for their subsistence.

OTHER Negroes have forsaken their manufactures. These fugitives fall unexpectedly, sometimes upon one side of the colony, sometimes upon another, in order to carry off supplies for their own subsistence, and to lay waste the wealth of  
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their former tyrants. It is in vain that the troops are kept continually upon the watch, to check or to surprise so dangerous an enemy. By means of private information, they contrive to escape every snare, and direct their incursions towards those parts which happen to be left defenceless.

METHINKS I see those people who were slaves in Egypt, and who, taking refuge in the deserts of Arabia, wandered for the space of forty years, attempted to make incursions upon all the neighbouring people, harassed them, penetrated alternately among some of them, and by slight and frequent inroads paved the way for the invasion of Palestine. If nature should chance to add a great soul, and a powerful understanding to the outward form of a Negro; if some European should aspire to the glory of being the avenger of nations that have been oppressed during two centuries; if even a missionary should know how to avail himself properly of the continual and progressive ascendent of opinion over the variable and transient empire of strength,—but alas! must the cruelty of our European policy inspire sanguinary ideas, and suggest plans of destruction to an equitable and humane man, whose thoughts are engaged in securing the peace and happiness of all mankind?

THE republic will prevent the subversion of their settlements, by laying a salutary restraint on the caprices and extravagances of their subjects. They will also take effectual measures to bring into their own ports the fruits of their labours,

which



which hitherto have been too often throw'n into another channel.

THE principal proprietors of Dutch Guiana reside in Europe. There are scarcely to be found in the colony any inhabitants, but the factors of these wealthy men, and such proprietors, whose fortunes are too moderate to admit of their intrusting the care of their plantations to other hands. The consumption of such inhabitants must be extremely confined. Accordingly, the vessels which are sent from the mother-country to bring home their produce, carry out nothing but absolute necessities; very seldom any articles of luxury, and but few of them. Even this scanty supply the Dutch traders are forced to share with the English of North America.

Those foreigners were at first admitted only, because the colony was under a necessity of purchasing horses of them. The difficulty of breeding, and, perhaps, other causes, have established this permission. The bringing of horses is so indispensable a passport for the men, that a ship which does not carry a number proportionate to it's size is not admitted into their harbours. But if the horses happen to die in their passage, it is sufficient that their heads are produced, to entitle the owners to expose to sale all kinds of provisions. There is a law forbidding payments to be made otherwise than by barter of molasses and rum; but this law is little attended to. The English, newly arrived, who have usurped the right of importing thither whatever they choose, take care to export the most valuable commodities of the colony, and even exact payments in money or bills of exchange

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change on Europe. Such is the law of force, which republics apply, not only to other nations, but to each other. The English treat the Dutch nearly in the same manner as the Athenians did the people of Melos. *It has ever been the case, said they to the inhabitants of that island, that the weakest should submit to the strongest: this law is not of our making; it is as old as the world, and will subsist as long as the world endures.* This argument, which is so well calculated to suit the purposes of injustice, brought Athens in it's turn under the dominion of Sparta, and at length destroyed it by the hands of the Romans.

The losses incurred by the Dutch, must render the republic very careful of their American possessions.

THE United Provinces have not given to their American settlements that attention they deserved, although they have met with strokes so severe, and so closely following upon each other, as ought to have opened their eyes. If they had not been blinded by the rapidity of their success, they would have discovered the beginning of their ruin in the loss of Brazil. Deprived of that vast acquisition, which in their hands might have become the first colony of the universe, and might have compensated the weakness or insufficiency of their territory in Europe, they saw themselves reduced to the condition they were in before they had made this conquest, of being factors for other nations; and thus was created, in their mass of real wealth, a void which hath never since been filled up.

THE consequences of the act of navigation, passed in England, were not less fatal to the Dutch. From this time that island, ceasing to be a tributary to the trade of the republic, be-

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came her rival, and in a short time acquired a decisive superiority over her in Africa, Asia, and America.

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HAD other nations adopted the policy of Britain, Holland must have sunk under the stroke. Happily for her, their kings knew not, or cared not, for the prosperity of their people. Every government, however, in proportion as it has become more enlightened, has assumed to itself its own branches of commerce. Every step that has been taken for this purpose, hath been an additional check upon the Dutch; and we may presume, from the present state of things, that sooner or later every people will establish a navigation for themselves, suited to the nature of their country, and to the extent of their abilities. To this period the course of events in all nations seems to tend; and whenever it shall arrive, the Dutch, who are indebted for their success, as much to the indolence and ignorance of their neighbours, as to their own œconomy and experience, will find themselves reduced to their original state of poverty.

It is not certainly in the power of human prudence to prevent this revolution; but there was no necessity to anticipate it, as the republic has done, by choosing to interfere as a principal in the troubles which so frequently have agitated Europe. The interested policy of our times would have afforded a sufficient excuse for the wars she hath commenced or sustained for the sake of her trade. But upon what principle can she justify those in which her exorbitant ambition, or ill-

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founded apprehensions, have engaged her? She has been obliged to support herself by immense loans: if we sum up together all the debts separately contracted by the generalities, the provinces, and the towns, which are all equally public debts, we shall find they amount to two thousand millions of livres\*; the interest of which, though reduced to two and a half *per cent.* hath amazingly increased the load of taxes.

OTHERS will perhaps examine, whether these taxes have been laid on with judgment, and collected with due œconomy. It is sufficient here to remark, that they have had the effect of increasing so considerably the price of necessaries, and consequently that of labour, that the industrious part of the nation have suffered severely from them. The manufactures of wool, silk, gold, silver, and a variety of others, have sunk, after having struggled for a long time under the growing weight of taxes and scarcity. When the spring equinox brings on at the same time high tides and the melting of the snow, a country is laid under water by the overflowing of the rivers. No sooner does the increase of taxes raise the price of provisions, than the workman, who pays more for his daily consumption, without receiving any addition to his wages, forsakes the manufacture and workshop. Holland hath not preserved any of it's internal resources of trade, but such as were not exposed to any foreign competition.

\* 83,333,333 l. 6s. 8d.



THE husbandry of the republic, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, that is to say, the herring-fishery, hath scarce suffered less. This fishery, which for a long time was entitled the gold mine of the state, on account of the number of persons who derived their subsistence, and even grew rich from it, is not only reduced to one-half, but the profits of it, as well as those of the whale fishery, are dwindled by degrees to nothing. Nor is it by advances of specie, that those who support these two fisheries embark in the undertaking. The partnerships consist of merchants, who furnish the bottoms, the rigging, the utensils, and the stores. Their profit consists almost entirely in the vent of these several merchandises: they are paid for them out of the produce of the fishery, which seldom yields more than is sufficient to defray it's expences. The impossibility there is in Holland of employing their numerous capitals to better advantage, has been the only cause of preserving the remains of this ancient source of the public prosperity.

THE excessive taxes, which have ruined the manufactures of the republic, and reduced the profits of their fisheries so low, have greatly confined their navigation. The Dutch have the materials for building at the first hand. They seldom cross the sea without a cargo. They live with the strictest sobriety. The lightness of their ships in working is a great saving in the numbers of their crews; and these crews are easily formed, and always kept in the greatest perfection, and at a small expence, from the multitude of sailors  
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swarming in a country which consists of nothing else but sea and shore. Notwithstanding all these advantages, which are further increased by the low rate of money, they have been forced to share the freight trade of Europe with Sweden, Denmark, and especially the Hamburgers, with whom the necessary requisites for navigation are not incumbered with the same impositions.

WITH the freights have diminished the commissions which used to be sent to the United Provinces. When Holland was become a great staple, merchandize was sent thither from all parts, as to the market where the sale of it was most ready, sure, and advantageous. Foreign merchants were the more ready oftentimes to send them thither, as they obtained, at an easy rate, credit to the amount of two-thirds, or even three-fourths, of the value of their goods. This management insured to the Dutch the double advantage of employing their capitals without risque, and obtaining a commission besides. The profits of commerce were at that time so considerable, that they could easily bear these charges: they are now so greatly lessened, since experience has multiplied the number of adventurers, that the seller is obliged to convey his commodity himself to the consumer, without the intervention of any agent. But if upon certain occasions an agent must be employed, they will prefer, *ceteris paribus*, those ports where commodities pay no duty of import or export.

THE republic hath likewise lost the trade of insurance, which she had in a manner monopolized formerly.

formerly. It was in her ports that all the nations of Europe used to insure their freights, to the great profit of the insurers, who, by dividing and multiplying their risques, seldom failed of enriching themselves. In proportion as the spirit of inquiry introduced itself into all our ideas, whether of philosophy or œconomy, the utility of these speculations became universally know'n. The practice became familiar and general; and what other nations have gained by it, was of course lost to Holland.

From these observations it is evident, that all the branches of commerce the republic was in possession of, have been very greatly diminished. Perhaps the greater part of them would have been annihilated, if the quantity of her specie, and her extraordinary œconomy, had not enabled her to be satisfied with a profit of three *per cent.* which we look upon to be the value of the product upon all her trade. This great deficiency has been made up to them by vesting their money in the English, French, Austrian, Saxon, Danish, and even Russian funds, the amount of which, upon the whole, is about sixteen hundred millions of livres\*.

FORMERLY the state made this branch of commerce unlawful, which is now become the most considerable of any. Had this law been observed, the sums they have lent to foreigners would have lain unemployed at home; their capitals for the use of trade being already so large, that the least

\* 66,666,666l. 13 s. 4 d.

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addition

addition to them, so far from giving an advantage, would become detrimental, by making the amount too great for use. The superfluity of money would immediately have brought the United Provinces to that period, in which excess of wealth begets poverty. Millions of opulent persons, in the midst of their treasures, would not have had a sufficiency to support themselves.

THE contrary practice hath been the principal resource of the republic. The money she has lent to neighbouring nations, has procured her an annual balance in her favour, by the revenue accruing from it. The credit is always the same, and produces always the same interest.

WE shall not presume to determine how long the Dutch will continue to enjoy so comfortable a situation. Experience authorises us only to declare, that all governments which have, unfortunately for the people, adopted the detestable system of borrowing, will, sooner or later, be forced to give it up; and the abuse they have made of it will most probably oblige them to defraud their creditors. Whenever the republic shall be reduced to this state, her great resource will be in agriculture.

THIS, though it be capable of improvement in the county of Breda, Bois-le-Duc, Zutphen, and Gueldres, can never become very considerable. The territory belonging to the United Provinces is so small, that it will almost justify the opinion of a Sultan, who seeing with what obstinacy the Dutch and Spaniards disputed with each other the possession of it, declared, if it belonged to him, he would



would order his pioneers to throw it into the sea. The soil is good for nothing but fish, which, before the Dutch, were the only inhabitants of it. It has been said with as much truth as energy, that the four elements were but in embryo there.

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THE existence of the republic in Europe is precarious, from their position in the middle of a capricious and boisterous element which surrounds them, which perpetually threatens them, and against which they are obliged to maintain means of defence as expensive as a numerous army; from formidable neighbours, some on the seas, and others on the continent; from the barrenness of the soil, which produces nothing of what is absolutely required for daily subsistence. Without any wealth of their own, their magazines, which are at present filled with foreign merchandize, may be to-morrow either empty or over-stocked, whenever the nations shall either chuse to cease the furnishing of them with any, or shall no longer require any from them. Exposed to every kind of want, their inhabitants will be forced to leave their country, or to die with hunger upon their treasures, if they cannot be relieved; or if succours be refused to them. If it should happen that the nations should become enlightened with respect to their interests, and should resolve to carry their productions themselves to the different regions of the earth, and to bring back upon their own ships those which they shall receive from thence in exchange, what will become of these useless carriers? Deprived of original materials, the possessors of which are at liberty to prohibit

hibit the exportation of, or to fix them at an exorbitant price, what will become of their manufactures? Whether the destiny of any power should depend upon the wisdom or upon the folly of others, that power is almost equally an object of compassion. Without the discovery of the New World, Holland would be nothing, England would be inconsiderable, Spain and Portugal would be powerful, and France would be what she is, and what she will ever remain, under whatever master, and under whatever form of government she may be placed. A long series of calamities may plunge her into misfortunes, but those misfortunes will be only temporary, since nature is perpetually employed in repairing her disasters. And this is the enormous difference there is between the condition of an indigent people, and that of a people rich in their territory. The latter can exist without all other nations, while these can scarce exist without them. Their population must be incessantly increasing, if a bad administration do not retard the progress of it. Several successive years of general dearth will only bring on a transient inconvenience, if the wisdom of the sovereign should provide against it. They scarce stand in need of any allies. If the combined policy of all the powers should concur in refusing to purchase their commodities: they would still experience nothing more, than the inconvenience of superfluity, and the diminution of their luxury, an effect which would turn to the advantage of their strength, which is enervated, and of their manners, which

are corrupted. True riches they are in possession of, and have no need to go in search of them at a distance: so that the superabundance or scarcity of the metal, which represents their felicity, can be of no avail either for or against it.

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DEPRIVED of these advantages in Europe, the republic must seek them in America. Her colonies, though very inferior to the settlements formed there by most of the other nations, would furnish productions, the whole profits and property of which will center in her. By her territorial acquisitions she will be enabled in every market to rival those nations, whose commodities she formerly served only to convey. Holland, raised to the dignity of a state, will cease to be a warehouse. She will find in another hemisphere that consistence which Europe hath denied her. It remains to see, if Denmark can have the same wants, and the same resources.

DENMARK and Norway, which are at present united under the same government, formed, in the eighth century, two different states. While the former signalized itself by the conquest of England, and other bold enterprises, the latter peopled the Orcades, Fero, and Iceland. Urged by that restless spirit, which had always actuated their ancestors the Scandinavians, this active nation, so early as the ninth century, formed an establishment in Greenland, which country, there is good reason to suppose, is attached to the American continent. It is even thought, notwithstanding the darkness which prevails over all the

Revolutions  
which have  
changed the  
state of  
Denmark.

the historical records of the north, that there are sufficient traces to induce a belief, that their navigators in the eleventh century were hardy enough to penetrate as far as the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland, and that they left some small colonies on them. Hence it is probable, that the Norwegians have a right to dispute with Columbus the glory of having discovered the New World; at least, if those may be said to have made the discovery, who were there without knowing it.

THE wars which Norway had to sustain, till the time it became united to Denmark; the difficulties which the government opposed to it's navigation; the state of oblivion and inaction into which this enterprising nation fell; not only lost it it's colonies in Greenland, but also whatever settlements or connections it might have had on the coasts of America.

It was not till more than a century after the Genoese navigator had begun the conquest of that part of the world under the Spanish banner, that the Danes and Norwegians, who were then become one nation, cast their eyes upon that hemisphere, which was nearer to them than to any of those nations, who had already possessed themselves of different parts of it. They chose, however, to make their way into it by the shortest course, and therefore, in 1619, they sent captain Munk to find out a passage by the north-west into the Pacific Ocean. His expedition was attended with as little success as those of many other navigators, both before and after him.



It may be presumed, that a disappointment in their first attempt would not entirely have disgusted the Danes; and that they would have continued their American expeditions till they had succeeded in forming some settlements, that might have rewarded them for their trouble. If they lost sight of those distant regions, it was because they were forced to it by an unfortunately obstinate war, which humbled and tormented them, and lasted till the year 1660.

THE government seized the first moment of tranquillity to examine the condition of the state. Like all other Gothic governments, it was divided between an elective chief, the nobility or senate, and the commons. The king enjoyed no other pre-eminence than that of presiding in the senate, and commanding the army. In the intervals between the Diets the government was in the hands of the senate: but all great affairs were referred to the Diets themselves, which were composed of the clergy, nobility, and commonalty.

THOUGH this constitution be formed upon the model of liberty, no country was less free than that of Denmark. The clergy had forfeited their influence from the time of the reformation. The citizens had not yet acquired wealth sufficient to make them considerable. These two orders were overwhelmed by that of the nobility, which was still influenced by the spirit of the original feudal system, that reduces every thing to force. The critical situation of the affairs of Denmark did not inspire this body of men with that justice or moderation, which the circumstances of the time required.

quired. They refused to contribute their proportion to the public expences; and by this refusal exasperated the members of the Diet. But, instead of exterminating this proud race, which was desirous of enjoying the advantages of society, without partaking the burthen of it, they resolved to submit to unlimited servitude, and voluntarily put on chains themselves; which the nobles would never have ventured to impose upon them by force, or with which they would perhaps have in vain attempted to load them.

At this strange and humiliating spectacle, is there any one who will not ask, what is man? What is that original and deep sense of dignity which he is supposed to possess? Is he born for independence or for slavery? What is that senseless herd of men which we call a nation? And when, on reviewing the globe, the same phenomenon, and the same meanness, are displayed in a greater or less degree from one pole to the other, is it possible that pity should not be extinguished, and that in the contempt which succeeds to it we should not be tempted to exclaim: Base and stupid people, since the continuity of oppression doth not restore to you any energy; since you confine yourselves to unavailing groans, when you might make your oppressors tremble; since there are millions of you, and that yet you suffer yourselves to be led at pleasure by a few infants, armed with despicable weapons, continue still to obey. Go on without troubling us with your complaints; and learn at least how to be unhappy, if you know not how to be free.

THE

THE Danes had no sooner submitted to one single chief, than they fell into a kind of lethargic state. To those great convulsions, which are occasioned by the clashing of important rights, succeeded the delusive tranquillity of servitude. A nation, which had filled the scene for several ages, appeared no more on the theatre of the world. In 1671, it just recovered so far from the trance, into which the accession of despotism had throw'n it, as to look abroad, and take possession of a little American island, know'n by the name of St. Thomas.

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THIS island, the farthest of the Caribbees towards the west, was totally uninhabited, when the Danes undertook to form a settlement upon it. They were at first opposed by the English, under pretence that some emigrants of that nation had formerly begun to clear it. The British ministry stopped the progress of this interference; and the colony were left to form plantations of sugar, such as a sandy soil, of no greater extent than five leagues in length, and two and a half in breadth, would admit of. These improvements, which were at that time very rare in the American Archipelago, were brought on by particular causes.

The Danes  
form settle-  
ments in  
the islands  
of St. Tho-  
mas, St.  
John, and  
Santa Cruz.

THE Elector of Brandenburg had formed, in 1681, a company for the Western part of Africa. The object of this association was to purchase slaves; but they were to be sold again; and that could be done in no other place than in the New World. It was proposed to the court of Versailles to receive them in their possessions, or to cede

cede Santa-Cruz. These two proposals being equally rejected, Frederic William turned his views towards St. Thomas. Denmark consented in 1685, that the subjects of this enterprising prince should establish a factory in the island, and that they should carry on a free trade there, upon condition of paying the taxes established, and of agreeing to give an annual stipend.

THEY were then in hopes of furnishing the Spanish colonies, which were dissatisfied with England and Holland; with the Negroes which those provinces were continually in want of. The treaty not having taken place, and the vexations being incessantly multiplied, even at St. Thomas's, the transactions of the inhabitants of Brandenburg were always more or less unfortunate. Their contract, however, which had been only made at first for thirty years, was renewed. Some few of them still belonged to it, even in 1731; but without any shares or any charter.

NEVERTHELESS, it was neither to the productions, nor to the undertakings of the inhabitants of Brandenburg, that the island of St. Thomas was indebted for it's importance.

THE sea has hollowed out from it's coast an excellent harbour, in which fifty ships may ride with security. This advantage attracted both the English and French Buccaneers, who were desirous of exempting their booty from the duties they were subject to pay in the settlements belonging to their own nations. Whenever they had taken their prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the windward islands, they



they put into that of St. Thomas to dispose of them. It was also the asylum of all merchant ships which frequented it as a neutral port in time of war. It was the mart, where the neighbouring colonies bartered their respective commodities which they could not do elsewhere with so much ease and safety. It was the port, from which were continually dispatched vessels richly laden to carry on a clandestine trade with the Spanish coasts; in return for which, they brought back considerable quantities of metal and merchandize of great value. In a word, St. Thomas was a market of very great consequence.

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DENMARK, however, reaped no advantage from this rapid circulation. The persons who enriched themselves were foreigners, who carried their wealth to other situations. The mother-country had no other communication with its colony than by a single ship, sent out annually to Africa to purchase slaves, which being sold in America, the ship returned home laden with the productions of that country. In 1719 their traffic increased by the clearing of the island of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half so large. These slender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab Island, or Bourriquen, where it had been attempted to form a settlement two years before.

THIS island, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a considerable number of hills; but they are neither barren, steep, nor very high. The soil of the plains and vallies, which

run between them, seems to be very fruitful; and is watered by a number of springs, the water of which is said to be excellent. Nature, at the same time that she has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the finest bays that can be conceived. At every step some remains of plantations, rows of orange and lemon trees, are still found; which make it evident, that the Spaniards of Porto-Rico, who are not further distant than five or six leagues, had formerly settled there.

THE English, observing that so promising an island was without inhabitants, began to raise some plantations there towards the end of the last century; but they had not time to reap the fruit of their labour. They were surprised by the Spaniards, who murdered all the men, and carried off the women and children to Porto-Rico. This accident did not deter the Danes from making some attempts to settle there in 1717. But the subjects of Great Britain, reclaiming their ancient rights, sent thither some adventurers, who were at first plundered, and soon after driven off, by the Spaniards. The jealousy of these American tyrants extends even to the prohibiting of fishing-boats to approach any shore where they have a right of possession, though they do not exercise it. Too idle to prosecute cultivation, too suspicious to admit industrious neighbours, they condemn the Crab Island to eternal solitude; they will neither inhabit it themselves, nor suffer any other nation to inhabit it. Such an exertion of  
exclusive

exclusive sovereignty has obliged Denmark to give up this island for that of Santa Cruz.

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SANTA CRUZ had a better title to become an object of national ambition. It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by Dutch and English. Their rivalry in trade soon made them enemies to each other. In 1646, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, the Dutch were beat, and obliged to quit a spot from which they had formed great expectations. The conquerors were employed in securing the consequences of their victory; when, in 1650, they were attacked and driven out in their turn by twelve hundred Spaniards, who arrived there in five ships. The triumph of these lasted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body, which were left for the defence of the island, surrendered without resistance to a hundred and sixty French, who had embarked in 1651, from St. Christopher's, to make themselves masters of the island.

THESE new inhabitants lost no time in making themselves acquainted with a country so much disputed. On a soil, in other respects excellent, they found only one river of a moderate size, which, gliding gently almost on a level with the sea through a flat country, furnished only a brackish water. Two or three springs, which they found in the innermost parts of the island, made but feeble amends for this defect. The wells were for the most part dry. The construction of reservoirs required time. Nor was the climate more inviting

to the new inhabitants. The island being flat, and covered with old trees, scarce afforded an opportunity for the winds to carry off the poisonous vapours, with which it's morasses clogged the atmosphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience; which was to burn the woods. The French set fire to them without delay; and, getting on board their ships, became spectators from the sea, for several months, of the conflagration they had raised in the island. As soon as the flames were extinguished, they went on shore again.

THEY found the soil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and sugar, flourished equally in it. So rapid was the progress of this colony, that, in eleven years from it's commencement, there were upon it eight hundred and twenty-two white persons, with a proportionable number of slaves. It was rapidly advancing to prosperity, when such obstacles were throw'n in the way of it's activity as made it decline again. This decay was as sudden as it's rise. In 1696 there were no more than one hundred and forty-seven men, with their wives and children, and six hundred and twenty-three blacks remaining; and these were transported from hence to St. Domingo.

SOME obscure individuals, some writers unacquainted with the views of government, with their secret negotiations, with the character of their ministers, with the interests of the protectors and the protected, who flatter themselves that



that they can discern the reason of events, amongst a multitude of important or frivolous causes, which may have equally occasioned them, who do not conceive, that among all these causes, the most natural may possibly be the farthest from the truth, who after having read the news, or journal of the day, with profound attention, decide as peremptorily as if they had been placed all their life-time at the helm of the state, and had assisted at the council of kings; who are never more deceived than in those circumstances, in which they display some share of penetration; writers as absurd in the praise as in the blame which they bestow upon nations, in the favourable or unfavourable opinion they form of ministerial operations: these idle dreamers, in a word, who think they are persons of importance, because their attention is always engaged on matters of consequence, being convinced that courts are always governed in their decisions by the most comprehensive views of profound policy, have supposed, that the court of Versailles had neglected Santa Cruz, merely because they wished to abandon the small islands, in order to unite all their strength, industry, and population in the large ones; but this is a mistaken notion: this determination, on the contrary, arose from the farmers of the revenue, who found, that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas was detrimental to their interests. The spirit of finance hath in all times been injurious to commerce; it hath destroyed the source from whence it sprang.

Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants, and without cultivation, till 1733, when it was sold by France to Denmark for 738,000 livres \*. Soon after the Danes built there the fortress of Christianstadt.

THEN it was, that this northern power seemed likely to take deep root in America. Unfortunately, she laid her plantations under the yoke of exclusive privileges. Industrious people of all sects, particularly Moravians, strove in vain to overcome this great difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the interests of the colonists and their oppressors, but without success. The two parties kept up a continual struggle of animosity, not of industry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its constitution, purchased, in 1754, the privileges and effects of the company. The price was fixed at 9,900,000 livres †, part of which was paid in ready money, and the remainder in bills upon the treasury, bearing interest. From this time the navigation to the islands was opened to all the subjects of the Danish dominions.

Unfortunate state of the Danish islands. Measures proper to be adopted by government to relieve them.

ON the first of January 1773, there were reckoned in St. John sixty-nine plantations, twenty-seven of which were devoted to the culture of sugar, and forty-two to other productions of less importance. There were exactly the same number at St. Thomas, and they had the same desti-

\* 30,750l.

† 412,500l.

nation,

nation, but were much more considerable. Of BOOK  
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three hundred and forty-five plantations, which were seen at Santa Cruz, one hundred and fifty were covered with sugar canes. In the two former islands, the plantations acquire what degree of extent it is in the power of the planter to give them, but in the last, every habitation is limited to three thousand Danish feet in length, and two thousand in breadth.

St. John is inhabited by one hundred and ten white men, and by two thousand three hundred and twenty-four slaves: St. Thomas, by three hundred and thirty-six white men, and by four thousand two hundred and ninety-six slaves: Santa Cruz, by two thousand one hundred and thirty-six white men, and by twenty-two thousand two hundred and forty-four slaves. There are no freed men at St. John's, and only fifty-two at St. Thomas, and one hundred and fifty-five at Santa Cruz; and yet the formalities required for granting liberty, are nothing more than a simple inrollment in a court of justice. If so great a facility hath not multiplied these acts of benevolence, it is because they have been forbidden to those who had contracted debts. It hath been apprehended, that the debtors might be tempted to be generous at the expence of their creditors.

This law appears to me a very prudent one; with some mitigation it might be of service, even in our countries. I should very much approve, that all citizens invested with honourable functions, either at court, in the army, in the church,

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or in the magistracy, should be suspended whenever they should be legally sued by a creditor, and that they should be unremittingly deprived of their rank whenever they should be declared insolvent by the tribunals. It appears to me, that money would then be lent with more confidence, and borrowed with greater circumspection. Another advantage which would accrue from such a regulation, would be, that the subaltern orders of men, who imitate the customs and the prejudices of the higher class of citizens, would soon be apprehensive of incurring the same disgrace; and that fidelity in engagements would become one of the characteristics of the national manners.

THE annual productions of the Danish islands, are reduced to a small quantity of coffee, to a great deal of cotton, to seventeen or eighteen millions weight of raw sugar, and to a proportionate quantity of rum. Part of these commodities are delivered to the English, who are proprietors of the best plantations, and in possession of the slave trade. We have before us, at present, very authentic accounts, which prove, that from 1756 to 1773, that nation hath sold, in the Danish settlements of the New World, to the amount of 2,307,686 livres 11 sols\*, and carried off to the value of 3,197,047 livres 5 sols 6 deniers†. North America receives likewise some of these productions in exchange for it's cattle, for it's

\* 96,153 l. 12 s. 11 d. † 133,210 l. 6 s. 0 1/2 d.



wood, and for it's flour. The remainder is conveyed to the mother-country upon forty-ships of one hundred, and from that to four hundred tons burthen. The greatest part is consumed in Denmark, and there is scarcely sold in Germany, or in the Baltic, for more than the value of one million of livres\*.

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THE lands susceptible of cultivation in the Danish islands are not all tilled, and those which are, might be improved. According to the opinion of the best informed men, the produce of these possessions might easily be increased by one third, or perhaps by one half.

ONE great obstacle to this increase of riches, is the extremely narrow circumstances of the colonists. They owe 4,500,000 livres † to government, 1,200,000 livres ‡ to the trade of the mother-country, and 26,630,170|| livres to the Dutch, who, from the immensity of their capitals, and the impossibility of employing them all themselves, necessarily become the creditors of all nations.

THE avidity of the treasury puts fresh restraints upon industry. The provisions and merchandize which are not peculiar to the country, or which have not been brought upon Danish vessels, are obliged to pay 4 per cent. upon their departure from Europe. The national and foreign commodities equally pay 6 per cent. on

\* 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 187,500 l. ‡ 50,000 l.

|| 1,109,590 l. 8 s. 4 d.

their

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their arrival in the islands; 18 livres\* are required for every fresh Negro brought in, and a poll-tax of 4 livres 10 sols †. Some heavy duties are laid upon stamp paper; an impost of 9 livres ‡ for each thousand foot square of ground, and the tenth of the price of every habitation that is sold. The productions are all subjected to five per cent. duty on their leaving the colonies, and to three per cent. on their arrival in any of the ports of the mother-country, exclusive of the duties which are paid for rum when consumed in retail. These tributes collectively bring in to the crown an income of eight or nine hundred thousand livres ||.

It is time that the court of Copenhagen should give up these numerous and oppressive taxes. Well-grounded motives of interest ought certainly to suggest the same kind of conduct to all the powers that have possessions in the New World. But Denmark is more particularly compelled to this act of generosity. The planters are loaded with such enormous debts, that they will never be able to repay the capitals, and cannot even make good the arrears, unless the treasury should entirely drop every kind of claim upon them.

But can such a prudent measure be expected, either in Denmark or elsewhere, as long as the public expences shall exceed the public reve-

15s. 13s. 19d. 17s. 6d.

From 33,333 l. 6s. 8d. to 37,500 l.

nues;

nues; as long as the fatal events, which, in the present order, or rather disorder of things, are perpetually renewed, shall compel administration to double, or to treble the burthen of their unfortunate, and already overloaded subjects; as long as the councils of the sovereigns shall act without any certain views, and without any settled plan; as long as ministers shall conduct themselves, as if the empire, or their functions, were to end the next day; as long as the national treasures shall be exhausted by unparalleled depredations, and that it's indigence shall only be removed by extravagant speculations, the ruinous consequences of which will not be perceived, or will be neglected, for the trifling advantages of the moment? and to make use of an energetic, but true metaphor, one that is terrifying, but symbolical of what is practised in all countries; as long as the folly, the avarice, the dissipation, the degradation, or the tyranny of the rulers, shall have rendered the treasury so much exhausted or rapacious, as to induce them to *burn the harvest, in order the more speedily to collect the price of the ashes!*

If the treasury were by chance to become wiser and more generous in Denmark than they have been, or than they are in any other part of the globe; the islands of St. Thomas, of St. John, and of Santa-Cruz, might possibly prosper; and their productions might, in some measure, compensate for the trifling value of those of the mother-country.

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Rapid  
Sketch of  
the Danish  
power.

THE provinces which at present constitute the domains of this state in Europe, were formerly independent of each other. Revolutions, most them, of a singular nature, have united them into one kingdom. In the center of this heterogeneous composition are some islands, the principal of which is called Zealand. It has an excellent port, though in the eleventh century it was but a little fishing town; it became a place of importance in the thirteenth; in the fifteenth, the capital of the kingdom; and, since the fire in 1728, which consumed sixteen hundred and fifty houses, it is a handsome city. To the south of these islands is that long and narrow peninsula, which the ancients called the Cimbrian Chersonesus. Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein, the most important and extensive parts of this peninsula, have been successively added to the Danish dominions. They have been more or less flourishing, in proportion as they have felt the effects of the restlessness of the ocean, which sometimes retires from their coasts, and sometimes overwhelms them. In these countries, one may see a perpetual struggle between the inhabitants and the sea, an incessant contest, the success of which hath always been equivocal. The inhabitants of such a country will be free from the moment they feel that they are not so. Mariners, islanders, and and mountaineers, will not long remain under the yoke of despotism.

Nor is Norway, which constitutes part of the Danish dominions, more adapted to servitude. It



is covered with stones or rocks, and intersected by chains of high and barren mountains. Lapland contains only a few wild people, either settled upon the sea-coasts, for the sake of fishing, or wandering through frightful deserts, and subsisting by the chase, by their furs, and their rein-deer. Iceland is a miserable country, which has been many times overturned by volcanos and earthquakes, and conceals within it's bowels a quantity of combustible matter, which in an instant may reduce it to a heap of ruins. With respect to Greenland, which the common people look upon as an island, and which geographers consider as united towards the west to the American continent; it is a vast and barren country, condemned by nature to be eternally covered with snow. If ever these countries should become populous, they would be independent of each other, and of the king of Denmark, who thinks at present that he rules over their wild inhabitants, because he calls himself their king, while they know nothing of the matter.

THE climate of the Danish islands in Europe is not so severe as might be conjectured from the latitude they lie in. If the navigation of the gulphs, which surround them, be sometimes interrupted, it is not so much by ice formed there, as by what is driven thither by the winds, and by degrees collects into a mass. All the provinces which make part of the German continent, except Jutland, partake of the German temperature. The cold is very moderate even on the coasts of Norway.

way. It rains there often during the winter, and the port of Berghen is scarcely once closed by ice, while those of Amsterdam, Lubec, and Hamburgh, are shut up ten times in the course of the year. It is true, that this advantage is dearly purchased by thick and perpetual fogs, which make Denmark a disagreeable and melancholy residence, and it's inhabitants gloomy and low-spirited.

THE population of this empire is not proportioned to it's extent. In the earlier ages it was ruined by continual emigrations. The piratical enterprises which succeeded to these, kept up this state of poverty, and anarchy prevented the government from remedying evils of such magnitude and importance. The double tyranny of the prince over one order of his subjects, who fancy themselves to be free, under the title of nobles, and of the nobility over a people entirely deprived of liberty, extinguishes even the hopes of an increase of population. The bills of mortality of all the states of Denmark, excepting Iceland, taken together, make the deaths in 1771 amount only to 55,125; so that, upon the calculation of thirty-two living to one dead person, the whole number of inhabitants does not amount to more than 1,764,000.

INDEPENDENT of many other causes, the weight of imposts is a great obstacle to their prosperity. There are fixed taxes payable on land, arbitrary ones collected by way of capitation, and daily ones levied on consumption. This oppression is the

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more

more unjust, as the crown possesses a very considerable domain, and hath likewise a certain resource in the streights of the Sound. Six thousand nine hundred and thirty ships, which, if we may judge from the accounts of the year 1768, annually pass into or out of the Baltic, pay at the entrance of that sea about one per cent. upon all the commodities they are laden with. This species of tribute, which, though difficult to collect, brings in to the state two millions five hundred thousand livres\*, is received in the bay of Ellsinor under the guns of the castle of Chronenburg. It is astonishing, that the situation of this bay, and that of Copenhagen, should not have suggested the idea of forming a staple here, where all the commercial nations of the north and south might meet, and exchange the produce of their climates and their industry.

WITH the funds arising from tributes, domains, customs, and foreign subsidies, this state maintains an army of twenty-five thousand men, which is composed of foreigners, and is reckoned the very worst body of troops in Europe. On the other hand, its fleet is in the highest reputation. It consists of twenty-seven ships of the line, and of one and thirty ships of war, but of inferior rates. Twenty-four thousand registered seamen, most of whom are continually employed, form a certain resource for their navy. To their military expences, the government have of late years

\* 104,166 l. 13 s. 4 d.

added others, for the encouragement of manufactures and arts. If we add to these, four millions of livres\* for the necessary expences and amusements of the court, and about the same sum for the interest of the national debt, amounting to seventy millions†; we shall account for the distribution of twenty-three millions of livres‡, which form the revenue of the crown.

If it was with a view of securing these several branches, that the government, in 1736, prohibited the use of jewels, and gold and silver stuffs, we may venture to say, there were plainer and easier means to be used for that purpose. They should have abolished that multitude of difficulties, which clog the commercial intercourse of the citizens, and hinder a free communication between the different parts of the kingdom. The trade of Iceland, of Greenland, of the States of Barbary, and the whale fishery, should have been laid open to all the traders of the nation. The trade of the islands of Fero, absurdly given up to the sovereign, should have been restored to the people. All the members of the state should have been freed from the obligation that was imposed upon them in 1726, of providing themselves with wine, salt, brandy, and tobacco from Copenhagen itself.

In the present state of affairs, their exportations are but small. In the provinces on the German

\* 166,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† 2,916,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

‡ 558,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.



continent, they consist of five or six thousand beeves, three or four thousand horses fit for cavalry, and some rye, which is sold to the Swedes and Dutch. For some years past, Denmark hath consumed all the wheat, which Fionia and Aland used to export to other nations. Those two islands, as well as Zealand, have now no other traffic but in those magnificent harnesses, which are purchased at so dear a rate by all who love fine horses. The trade of Norway consists of herrings, timber, masts, tar, and iron. Lapland and Greenland produce furs. From Iceland is procured cod, whale blubber, the oil of seals, and manatees, sulphur, and that luxurious down so celebrated under the name of eider-down.

WE shall close here the details, into which the commerce of Denmark hath necessarily led us; and which are sufficient to convince that power, that nothing contributes so much to her interest as having the sole possession and traffic of all the productions of her American islands. Let us warn her, that the more limited her possessions are in the New World, the more attentive ought she to be, not to suffer any of the advantages she may derive from them to escape her: let us warn her, as well as all the governments of the earth, that the diseases of empires are not among the number of those which are cured of themselves; that they grow more inveterate with age, and that it is seldom their cure is facilitated by fortunate circumstances; that it is almost always dangerous to put off, to a distant period,

either the accomplishing of any good purpose we may have in view, or the removal of any evil we may expect to remedy at the time; that for one instance of success obtained by temporising, history affords a thousand, where the favourable opportunity hath been missed for having been too long waited for; that the struggles of a sovereign are always those of a single man against all, unless there be several sovereigns, who have one common interest between them; that alliances are nothing more than preparations for treachery; that the power of a feeble nation grows only by imperceptible degrees, and by efforts which are always thwarted by the jealousy of other nations, unless it should emerge at once from its state of mediocrity by the daring exertions of some impatient and formidable genius; that a man of such genius may be waited for a long time, and that even he risks every thing, since his attempts may terminate equally in the aggrandizement of the state or in its total ruin. Let us warn Denmark in particular, that while she is expecting the appearance of this man of genius, the safest thing for her is to be sensible of her position, and the wisest, is to be convinced, that if powers of the first class seldom commit faults without impunity, the least negligence on the part of subaltern sovereignties, which have not any speedy or great resource in the possession of immense and opulent territories, cannot but be attended with fatal consequences. Let us not conceal from her, that all petty states

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are destined to aggrandize themselves or to disappear, and that the bird which dwells in a barren climate, and lives amidst arid rocks, ought to act as a bird of prey.

BOOK  
XII.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.



END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



